MUHAMMAD ALI

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HIS LIFE, SERVICES AND TRIAL

ENLARGED EDITION

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

IN issuing this second edition of Moulana Muhammad Ali's Life and Services to the country, the Publishers have taken the opportunity of revising it and considerably enlarging it so as to make it up-to-date and comprehensive.

They have also appended to it the full text of Moulana Muhammad Ali's remarkable address to the Jury which, as has been universally admitted, is a master-piece, not only in regard to the exposition of a devout Muslim's faith, but also in regard to the great legal points raised in the trial. To one who has read *The Trial and Death of Socrates,* that small but brilliant volume in the Golden Treasury Series, the Karachi Trial will not fail to strike as a repetition of that famous trial episode in Athenian history. Moulana Muhammad Ali, like Socrates in most respects, displayed irrepressible intrepedity, biting sarcasm, penetrating thrusts of wit, unclouded knowledge of what the real issues were, and, above all, the keen and proud consciousness that what he sought to do was

to serve God as a true Muslim ought to. The publishers have no doubt whatsoever that long as the address was—it runs to more than a hundred pages of this volume—there will be few readers who would not wish that it were longer : so soul-stirring and captivating are the themes, the language, the style and the eloquence of the Moulana.

The result of these additions has been nearly to treble the size of the volume, but in order that it might suit the pockets of all, its price has been fixed at Rs. 2 only.

It is hoped that the addition of an index and a chronological note of the leading events in the Moulana's life will enhance the usefulness of the volume.

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MR. MUHHAMMAD ALI

A CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE.

1878 Birth; grand son of Khan-i- Saman Ali Baksh Khan, the right hand man of Nawab of Rampur and saviour of the British in Mutiny days at Rohilkkhand and Kumeon.

1880 Father's death.

1889 Bariele School.

1890 M. A. O- College, Aligarh.

1898 Lincoln College, Oxford. Fails at the

to I.C.S. Examination.

1902 Head of Education Department, Ram-

1902 pur. Returns to England to take the B. A., degree.

1902 On return to India in July, 1902

to joined Baroda Civil Service, carried

1910 out opium and "land of oppression" reforms.

1904 Wrote "Thoughts on present discontent.' Address on Muslim University.

1906 Actively contributes to establish the Muslim League.

1907 Articles to the *Daily Mail*, etc.

1910 Offer of Prime Ministership of Jaora by Sir M. O'Dwyer declined.

1911 Edits the "Comrade."

1912 Goal of Muslim League-Self-Government Mr. Md. Ali's work.
Agitation for Muslim University and against an officialised one.

1912 The Medical Mission to Turkey.

1913 Starts the *Hamdard*.

1913 The Cawnpur Mosque affair.
Deputations to England. Influences Sir James La Touche, member India Council, to take up the matter.

1914 Turkish Medical Mission's equipment presented to Government on the out-break of war

1914 September 26. *Comrade* Security forfeited for replying to the *Times* etc. "The Choice of the Turks."

1915 May 15 Interned.

1917 Septr. The Cleveland feeler and the Brother's famous reply. The Raja of Mahmudabad's interview.

1917 The forged letters to the Amir.

1919 Released from internment. Starting of the Central Khilafat Committee.

		Conducts Khilafat and Congress propaganda.
1920		Deputation to England.
1920	October.	Returns from England.
	,, 13.	Non-Co-operation among students at Aligarh.
	,, 29.	Inauguration of the National Muslim University. Appointed Principal.
	Nov.	Letter to Rajah of Mahmudabad re: National Muslim University.
	Dec.	Nagpur Congress and the Muslim League.
1921	January	Non-Co-operation Campaign.
	& Feb.	Tour in western and Eastern India.
	March.	A. I. C. C. Meeting at Bezwada.
	April.	Tour in Madras Presidency. Speech at Madras. Speech at Erode. Muslim Volunteers Conference.
	May.	Gandhi—Reading Interview.
	May.	Ali Brother's "apology."
	June.	Work at National University
	July.	Karachi Conference.

1921	Aug.	Tour in Eastern Bengal and Assam.
	Sept.	2nd Madras tour begun.
	Sept.	14 Arrest at Vizagapatam.
	,,	26 Karachi Trial
	Oct.	Address to the Jury.
	Nov. 1	Sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment..

Shaukat Ali & Mahomed Aii.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

MUHAMMAD ALI

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

. . . . that which we are, we are:
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

—Tennyson.

Every step in the history of the world has been made in the face of opposition and difficulty, and been "achieved and secured by men of intrepidity and valour," by leaders in the van-guard of thought, by great discoverers, great patriots and great workers in all walks of life. Such men stand out in solitary independence of the society, in the midst of which they live. Such men seem to contribute

new elements to social progress, and to leave the world the better from what they found it. Such men have been the standard-bearers of truth. They rise triumphant through mire and mud, with bruises on their faces, still holding the banner of truth unsullied. To write the biographies of such men "who bestride the world like a Colossus," is a hazardous task, full of many pitfalls for an average writer. The task as such becomes doubly difficult when a biography of a living personality is to be written. Every age has its own difficulties in the appreciation of its hero. The age in which a great personage lives, is too near to him to see him truly. If I have undertaken to write the life sketch of Muhammad Ali, it is merely with an earnest desire to place before the public a *brief* account of the Patriot's life who is sacrificing his best at the altar of our Faith and Motherland. I would fain have shifted this task to an abler hand, capable of doing *full* justice to it. However, the responsibility of writing a pamphlet as such is great, and the resources at my disposal are scanty and meagre. If I come forward to undertake the task, it is on account of the insistent demand of the publishers on me. "My errors, if any,

are my own. My reputation alone is to answer for them."

Muhammad Ali's paternal ancestors were originally the residents of Moradabad. His grand-father, Khan-i-Saman Ali Baksh Khan, who was a man of means, succeeded in securing a decent post in the Rampur service under the then Heir-Apparent Yusuf Ali Khan Bahadur, who afterwards became the Nawab of Rampur, and was the great grand-father of the present ruler of the state. "He began as the Comptroller of the Prince's Household, and so faithfully and well did he serve his master that when the Prince became the Nawab, Ali Bakhsh Khan rose to a position in the administration of the State in which he was described in British official documents during the mutiny as 'the right-hand man' of his illustrious master. In those searching times of trouble he did immense service to the State, and on behalf of his master he saved the English in Rohilkhand and Kumaon, and supplied them with all they needed, when in Naini Tal and Almora, where they had been practically hemmed in by the insurgents. In recognition of the sorely-needed assistance then rendered so gallantly and liberally by the State, the Nawab

received from the British Government additional territory, and the Khan-i-Saman was awarded the grant of a large rent-free Jagir in the Moradabad district. His generous master also rewarded him amply for these and other services, and his successor, the widely known Nawab Kalb-i-Ali Khan Bahadur continued the same marks of royal favour with marked liberality." The uncles of the Ali Brothers, too, held responsible posts in the army of the state. Muhammad Ali's father Abdul Ali Khan also held honorable posts in the army and the civil administration of the State and was held in esteem and respect by all the high officials of his time. This connection of the family with the State has been maintained to this day. It continues to furnish loyal and trusted servants to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and lives up to its motto: "True to Salt."

It is a pity that Muhammad Ali's father died suddenly of cholera in the prime of life at the age of 34 in August, 1880, and thus the care of the six children naturally devolved upon his widow who was then 27. Muhammad Ali was not yet two years old and Shaukat Ali was not much more than seven. The mother of the Ali

Brothers is indeed a marvellous woman, for it was through her efforts that Zulfikar Ali and Shaukat Ali were first sent to a school at Barelli in 1889 and eventually to the M. A. O. Collegiate School and College, Aligarh, in June, 1890, to receive the then much-denonuced English education. Now it is quite difficult for us who live in changed times, to gauge the depth of these prejudices which the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had to face throughout his life, and which have hitherto exercised a very baneful influence on the community. The prejudices were very deep-rooted then, but this lady, in spite of them and the opposition she received at the hands of her relatives, proved equal to the task. Oh, she had to fight out a battle against heavy odds, which she did *pugnio et calcibus*, being directly descended from a line of soldier-statesmen of the Mughal empire of whom perhaps Nawab Darvesh Ali Khan, a minister of the Great-Mughal, and a Panj-Hazari or officer of the rank of Five-Thousand, was the most renowned for his wisdom, courage, faithfulness and liberality. She has thus inherited from her great ancestors her self-reliance, her scorn of danger and her ability to face difficulties,

however overwhelming, with a clear and a steady gaze. Very few mothers have taken so great pains at educating their children as this lady did, for she used to go direct to Aligarh in order to look after her sons and to give them necessary suggestions and to the teachers and the professors concerned with regard to her children. And now when she has grown old and weak with age, she is still beside her brave sons, bearing with fortitude the sufferings and miseries, hardships and troubles, along with them in their internment at Chhindwara and subsequent trials. Such, then, is the lady, the mother of the two great sons of India, whom the whole of Bharata Varsh reveres to-day and whose good name will be handed down to posterity as an emblem of bravery, fortitude, and piety.

The life of Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali at Aligarh was singularly ideal. Both these brothers have always been remarkably affectionate to each other, and in Aligarh the love between the two was proverbial. There they grew together

> "Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
> But an union in partition"

AT ALIGARH.

IN ENGLAND

During his educational career at Aligarh Muhammad Ali's mental and intellectual faculties found full development. His intellectual capacities were a wonder to all those around him. His memory was extraordinarily capacious and retentive, his imagination was wonderfully sublime and of a soaring character. His essays were much more thoughtfully written than an average student of the 4th year is expected to write. All these things attracted the attention of Nawab Muhammed Ishaq Khan, the then Prime Minister at Rampur, who at last got him sent to England for the I. C. S, examination. Unlike other students, Muhammad Ali preferred to stay at Oxford, simply because of its literary fame. He was at Lincoln College for four years from 1898 to 1902. He was quite a popular member of the College, and, to this day, keeps up some warm friendships which he had formed there. The late Fateh Singh, the Kanwar of the Baroda state, had also joined the University towards the end of his career; and it was

perhaps through him that his father, the Maharaja, learnt of Muhammad Ali's versatile and brilliant intellect.

At Oxford Muhammad Ali's energies were diffused on many interests rather than concentrated exclusively on his school, so that he secured only a 2nd class in the Honours School of Modern History, though his abilities should have secured him a higher place. For similar reasons he did not succeed in gaining a place in the I. C. S. He always thinks and speaks of Oxford days as among the happiest in his life, and gained from them a great deal more in experience, wisdom and training of the mind, though many have gained higher academic degrees.

Muhammad Ali returned from England in January, 1902, and was for sometime appointed as head of the Education Department in the Rampur state. But he went back to England again for his final B. A. in April, 1902. He reached there in May and sat in the examination in the same month. He returned to India finally in July, 1902.

STATE SERVICE

Immediately after his return from England he went in for the High Court examination at Allahabad, but failed by a few marks. He then joined the civil service of the Baroda State, where from time to time he held many responsible posts. He worked for some time in the opium department and during his *regime* the profit rose to twenty-fold which was, in round figures, about 17 lakhs of rupees. He carried out many reforms there among which the stoppage of the "land oppression" needs special mention. This *zulum* had been in vogue for a considerable period in the Nausari District to the detriment of the poor aborigines who were the only sufferers. Muhammad Ali accordingly submitted a report on the subject laying down a detailed scheme as to how best to cope with the situation. The only opposition came from the local Parsi syndicate. But the general masses and the aborigines, who were forced to buy plots of land at huge prices, were with their

benefactor, and it was thus that the poor got rid of the oppression from the rich.

The Maharaja always treated Muhammad Ali more like a father and friend than a mere master, and he must have felt sorry for losing the services of so capable and conscientious a worker as Muhammad Ali was. He is one of those Indians who have discharged their responsible duties in a manner which has not failed to prove the world at large that Indians are not lacking in anything where brain and efficiency are needed. His work in the most advanced state of India can be considered as a very bright record worthy of a conscientious worker whether he be an Indian or a European. But the field of work offered too narrow a scope for a man like Muhammad Ali, and with the intention of serving his community and country on a larger scale, he applied for two years' leave and started his own weekly paper "the Comrade" from Calcutta.

LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Before dealing straight away with the *Comrade* and the work that it did, I wish to write a few lines here about Muhammad Ali's literary activities. While in Baroda he contributed a few letters on some of the burning questions of the day to the columns of the *Times of India* which were afterwards published in the form of a book under the title of "Thoughts on Present Discontents." These articles were practically written in one night. The book was widely read both by thoughtful Indians and Englishmen. The late Lord Minto had heaped many encomiums on the author. In 1904 he wrote a very beautiful address expounding the aims and objects of the Muslim University which was read by him at one of the Ahmedabad sessions of the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan Educational Conference, and subsequently at the annual session of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference held in Lucknow in the same year. Muhammad Ali wrote also a series of articles, probably in 1907, on the

Aligarh of to-day and on some other questions dealing with the M.A.O.College. This series was the result of Mr. Lovat Fraser's request, the then editor of the *Times of India*, and now connected with the *Daily Mail* to contribute to his paper. He contributed sometimes leading articles and reviews of books to it; and I think no other Indian has ever been asked to write leading articles for the *Indian Spectator* during the life-time of its founder. He wrote also for the *Hindustan Review*. But the most notable production of his, "India, Past and Present," published in the latter, will always bring home to the readers his keen insight and sober judgment. As has been shown elsewhere, he was endowed with a keen incisive wit which showed itself in his journal, the *Gup*, from Allahabad. Unfortunately only two issues of the paper appeared, as for some unavoidable reasons it had to be stopped. Muhammad Ali's articles on the Morley-Minto Reforms created a very interesting discussion between him and the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale. After some time he contributed a series of articles to the columns of the *Observer*, Lahore, which were written in answer to the attacks made on Shaukat Ali by Mr. Muhammad Hayat Khan who wrote under

the pseudonym of the "Argus." Mr. Muhammad Ali's articles were very humourous and attracted the keen attention of the Aligarh students and trustees with whom the Ali Brothers have been little less than idols.

One little incident of interest happenned some time before Muhammad Ali's departure for Calcutta. He was prevailed upon by H.H. the Nawab of Jaora and Sir Michael O'Dwyer to accept the port folio of the Prime Minister of the said State. A personal interview was also granted to him. But as Muhammad Ali had made up his mind to start a paper, he did not budge an inch from his position in spite of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's personal recommendations.

THE *COMRADE* AND ITS AIMS

As has been said, Muhammad Ali was in the Baroda service when he matured his scheme of bringing out a weekly paper. He took leave from the Maharajadhiraj for two years, and began to publish his well-known journal from Calcutta. Its first number appeared on the 14th of January, 1911. Muhammad Ali launched upon this plan, because he earnestly wanted to devote himself to the service of his community as well as that of his country. Nature herself had put this instrument of enormous potentiality into his hands, for he had not gone through any journalistic training. I once asked him as to why he had adopted journalism as his profession, and his terse and brief reply was that the requirements of the community demanded that he should take up the work, and consequently he had done it. His idea was to devote his paper more to education than to anything else. All the while he acted as the Editor, he worked with exemplary zeal and fervour. He was, for the most part of its but too brief life, assisted only by the late lamented Raja

Gulam Hussain, B.A., the founder and editor of the brilliant but very short-lived *New Era*.

So much then for the staff. As regards the policy and aims of the *Comrade*, they can best be described in the words of the Editor himself :—

"We are partisans of none, comrades of all. We deeply feel the many dangers of increasing controversy between races and races, creeds aud creeds, and earnestly desire a better understanding between the contending elements of the body politic of India."

As to the relations of the rulers and the ruled, his earnest desire was that "the line of demarcation between the two" should be obliterated altogether, so that the poet's dream might be realised :

"I became Thou, Thou became I, I became life and Thou became Body,
"That none may henceforth say, I am different and Thou art different".

"When this obliteration is accomplished," he continues, "the present dangers of criticism will cease to be. The opposition will then be as responsible as the Government, and responsibility all the world over goes hand in hand

with sobriety of judgment and temperate expression."

Muhammad Ali more than any one else was alive to the differences that prevailed in the Indian society itself, and so far as it lay in his power, he did his best "to hasten the end," and was always "at the kill." He was also conscious of the gulf which existed—and unfortunately still exist—between the East and the West. To Rudyard Kipling it may be true that

> "Oh, East is East and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet;"

But to the vision of Muhammad Ali the "twain" can "meet." And consenquently he wrote: "We may believe in the gulf but refuse to belive it as unbridgable. Remove pride and suspicion on the one side, and prejudice and suspicion on the other, and it will not be difficult to throw the cantilever bridge across the yawning chasm. Be it as it may, there is no gulf between races which individuals cannot bridge."

The *Comrade* was a great advocate of a Hindu-Muslim *entente,* and always prevailed upon the Hindus and the Mussalmans to work side by side, with the object of uplifting their

Mother India. On this topic Muhammad Ali wrote :—

"But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Mussalmans or the Hindus attempted to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the co-operation of each other, they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. But every step has to be taken with caution.

Nothing in History, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona, shall we despair of Indian Nationality? We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its 40 millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicality. It may not be a love marriage, born of romance and poetrys. But a *marriage de convenince*, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose, and the muses will not forbid the banns. Even

this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifie. Oh! Unity,

> "Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation.
> But not for us who watch to-day and burn.
> Thou wilt come, but after what long years of trial,
> Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial!"

Thus, it will be seen that the germs of Indian Nationality were planted deep into Muhammad Ali's heart years before the National Congress and the Muslim League finally signed the *reapproachment* in Lucknow in 1916. As will be seen late, his conviction only gained increasing strength as years volted on.

The *Comrade* was published from Calcutta, because the Editor wanted to remain in touch with the Government of India whose then seat was Calcutta. In the beginning of its career, the journal was very popular in the official circles, so much so that it was very much admired for its frank criticism by no less great personages than Lord and Lady Hardinge, Sir James Meston, Sir Charles Cleveland, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Lovat Fraser and

others. In addition to this, most of the Government high officials used to subscribe to it. But after some time when the Muslim Communal politics expanded under his guidence, when it began to fight India's battles on really democratic lines, its very candour and frankness were resented by them, and it began to lose that popularity which it once enjoyed with the officials at Calcutta. But in spite of this indifferent attitude of the Government, Muhammad Ali was ever ready to co-operate with them, although his sincere services were very little appreciated and taken into account. And for that he can never be blamed.

Now I must add here—and it is at the same time true—that the *Comrade* "combated in a spirited manner the inordinate claims of the Hindu community which was then the pet aversion of the officials, having been till then practically the only political party that demanded a share in the monopoly of the civilians. But he had not set out to fight the battle of the civilians and the controversies of the *Comrade* with the organs of Hindu opinion had their genesis in the conviction that Muslim assertiveness would teach the Hindus to moderate their claims and make them prove

to co-operate with the Mussalmans for the good of India on an equitable basis."

With the change of the capital, Muhammad Ali removed his office to Delhi in September, 1912. But there he could not work for a long time on account of the existing cliques in Delhi, which proved a stumbling block in the way. However he did much in rousing the public life of that "sleepy hollow," and in upholding the cause of the masses, who up to this day cherish a sweet memory of the Patriot.

MUSLIM LEAGUE

Like the late Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca and the Nawab Vigarulmulk of Amroha Muhammad Ali may rightly be called the father of the Muslim League, for he was connected with it since its very inception. It was established in 1906 under extraordinary circumstances when the Muslim community was passing through a period of uneasiness on account of the political affairs of the country. At that time "the League had confined itself to the maintenance and promotion of the feelings of loyalty in the Muslim community; to the advancement and protection of the interest of the Mussalmans; and, without detriment to these two subjects, the cultivation of harmony and good relations between the Mussalmans and other communities." The Muslim community has without doubt made a rapid advance towards progress since the days of Lord Minto. And however ridiculous these "objects and aims" may appear to a man of to-day, surely it was the creed of the League twelve years ago. How that League has

evolved out of the quagmire of narrow politics, and how it has suceeded, practically at one jump, in setting before itself the idea of self-government within the Empire may be traced to the whole-hearted efforts of Muhammad Ali, and to his adjutors and to few else.

The readers are perhaps aware that the ideal of self-government, though adopted for the first time during the extraordinary session of the Council of the League in 1912, was really the outcome of that expansion of Muslim consciousness, which has since then become a very important factor in the history of the Mussalmans in India. It should be remembered that the ideal was not adopted "out of malice" towards the Government or owing to the Turco-Italian war nor was it borrowed from others. But the liberalising influences which had been at work since the foundation of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh are responsible for it. Muhammad Ali who is among the flower of that Institution, and who never wanted to dabble in the shallow power of politics, at once gave expression to his community's feelings of self-realisation by proclaiming loud and wide that henceforth the goal of the Mussalmans of India would be to secure self-government

along with other communities of India. This ideal was heartily endorsed by all the educated Muhammadans of India, and afterwards propagated by Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah who adorned the presidential chair next year in 1913. The ideal became so popular that even the head of the reactionary party of the Punjab, the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, Bar-at-law, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., to give him his full title, could not resist the pressure of public opinion as voiced by the *Comrade,* and as a concession to the opposition, which the announcement of his election (March, 1913) had inspired in the Muslim progressive circles, went the length of holding it up to the Muhammadan community as the goal of Muslim politics in India. It is also interesting to note that before the address was completed, Mr. Muhammad Shafi had consulted Muhammad Ali on the subject.

A word or two of mild rebuke to the Muslim League would not be out of place here. Since Muhammad Ali's internment the very life seem to have departed from it. It did not carry on any agitation for the release of the Muslim internees as a whole, nor did it care to popularise the ideal of self-government as is vigorously done by other represen-

tative bodies of the Hindus. It is tended to grow into a do-nothing body, until new fires unless of enthusiasm and energy were put into it, after the Brothers release.

THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Forty years ago, the Earl of Lytton had laid the foundation stone of the Muhammadan College at Aligarh. At the time, the Founder had explicitly said that "it was the seed of a Muslim University that was being sown that day." But the inception of such a University really dates from 1873 when the late Justice Mahmood had submitted a scheme for it. But that time was rather premature, for it is only for the last 10 years, *i.e.*, nearly 30 years after the scheme was originally prepared, that the Mussalmans of India are in sight of a University, although they were long trying to reconcile Oriental learning with Occidental literature and science, and to preach the "gospel of free inquiry" as was done in the good old days by the Moors in Spain. The Mussalmans were also trying to regenerate their faith from within, not from without. And this consisted in purifying the old faith, and not bringing in a new one, for the Occident can give us nothing better to follow than the precepts of the Koran. The

Muhammadan leaders of this country thought and believed that these things were possible provided their long-cherished desire of establishing a Muslim University at Aligarh was fulfilled. The Mussalman masses read in the efforts of their leaders signs of the future glory of Islam and were happy at the idea that Islamic learning would be revived and that Aligarh would become a second Cordova or Baghdad. During the last decade these ideas were extensively diffused among the Mussalman masses by men like His Highness the Aga Khan, Muhammad Ali and the Raja of Mahmudabad. Whatever may now be said of the merits of the first-named gentleman, at that time, indeed, he was the standard bearer of Muslim learning, a hero in the strife. He was all hope. And the gigantic receptions which were, from time to time, given to him when, at the instance of Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, he made a tour for the collection of funds, proved full well how he was respected and honoured. As regards the other two gentlemen, the majority of people had and still have implicit faith in them. And if the University of the Mussalmans have met with a tragic end, it is no fault of theirs. It is due to the Ali-

garh oligarchy which is responsible for all this set back.

Muhammad Ali, who along with H.H. the Aga Khan, had done much in the way of popularizing the scheme and collecting funds for it, stood for affiliation up to the time of his internment. "The Mussalmans," he wrote, after the *fiat* of the Education Department, "want to evolve a certain type of education suited to their need and genius, and they want an All-India organisation for that purpose. The proposed Muslim University was primarily designed to furnish that organisation. But if that University is to be deprived of the power of guiding Muslim education throughout India by a well-planned system of affiliation, the main object underlying the University movement, falls to the ground." On the 10th of April, 1916, in Lucknow, under the presidentship of the Raja of Mahmudabad, it was decided that the "decisions" of the Secretary of State for India in regard to the Muslim University, though "final," should never be taken as such, and that the Government ought to be approached on the subject again. This meeting was fairly representative, as delegates from all parts of India were present there. At

this meeting a resolution was also passed expressing sorrow at the enforced absence of the Ali Brothers since then no change had taken place in the attitude of the Mussalmans, when all of a sudden on the 8th of April, 1917, another meeting of the Foundation Committee was convened at Aligarh where it was decided to get "the best possible University on the lines accepted by the Hindus." There were some people who wanted to postpone the matter with due deference to Muhammad Ali's wishes as expressed in his letter addressed to the Raja of Mahmudabad on the subject. But the reactionary party had for the time being won the day, and hence the voice of the opposition was drowned in the loud din of the majority.

The Mussalmans, however, have now decided by majority to accept the University on the Government terms. And it is really a pity that no heed was paid to the wishes of Muhammad Ali whom his internment did not allow to attend the gathering in person for which he had repeatedly applied to the Government.

THE *HAMDARD* AND ITS AIMS

Muhammad Ali knew the power of journalism as a means to educate the masses on all the public affairs. The *Comrade* being in English, could not be advantageously studied by them. He, therefore, started the *Hamdard* in 1913, and that was the only Urdu daily which was printed from moveable type. This was an altogether new departure in the Muslim journalism, and was maintained at an enormous personal sacrifice, as his idea was to get together a good number of Muslim writers and make them write in Urdu, books on all subjects—literary syndicate like the Anjumans i-Taraqq-i-Urdu—maintaining them with a subsistence allowance of Rs. 75, and giving them large share of the profit. Unlike the *Zamindar* and other off-shoots, the *Hamdard* was sold at two pice a copy instead of one, and in spite of it, its circulation had reached 9,000. No other Urdu daily had such a brilliant record. In other words, its circulation was equal to the combined circulation of 4 or 5

Urdu leading dailies of to-day. And that is another proof of Muhammad Ali's popularity with the masses.

The staff of the paper consisted of some of the ablest hands. Mir Busharat Ali Jalib of the *Hamdam* and Qazi Abdul Gaffar of the *Jamhoor* were working on it, besides many others; and they continued to conduct a paper even after the Editor's internment. But as the Government had saddled it with a whimsical censor who wanted to see nothing but trash in it, the *Hamdard* ceased to exist after some time. Its disappearance from the field was a death blow to Urdu Journalism and an end of all the political education of the masses.

Muhammad Ali wrote practically very little for the *Hamdard*. But he always found time to discuss in his green room almost all the points with his sub-editors who were given sufficient time to study all the possible aspects of a question. The discussion was always friendly and every one was free to say what he thought right. The relation between him and the sub-editors was not that of the Master and the servants, but really speaking, they enjoyed a sort of family life. And this is a feature which was unique in Urdu journalism and

which was mainly responsible for the quality of everything that appeared in the *Hamdard.*

From the bureaucratic point of view also, it was nothing less than a blunder to have gagged the *Hamdard,* for like the phœnix, four independent dailies—the *Sidagat,* the *Tarjman,* the *Hamdam,* the *Jamhoor*—apart from the *New Era* which was the successor of the *Comrade*—arose from its ashes. The staff of the defunct *Hamdard* was doing all this mischief, and it would have been much better had it been localised in Delhi alone.

If the masses in general have begun to take a greater interest in the affairs of the country; if they have begun to throb with new life and if they have ceased to be dumb and mute "like cattle" as in the good old days of the bureaucratic *regime,* it can safely be ascribed to the training of the *Hamdard,* which will long be remembered by all the lovers of freedom and of free press.

Mahammad Ali never took any action until he studied the situation well and until all the facts of a case were fully grasped by him. The same is true about the Machhli Bazar Mosque Affair, which is wrongly styled a 'riot.' I wish I could have buried the sad memories of the incident of the 3rd August, 1913, into oblivion, with due deference to the wishes of our popular ex-Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge; but I feel I would not be doing justice to Muhammad Ali who had put his very heart and soul into the matter for God, the King, the law and the people, and who had fought out the case with all the might a mortal can command.

As is well-known, for purposes of constructing a new road through the Machhli Bazar, it was found necessary to acquire a small portion of the mosque premises. Some of the *Mutawallis* (Trustees) of the mosque, who were men of feeble stuff and who "wanted to please their collector more than their God," approved

of the plan prepared by the Municipal Committee without of course referring it to the *maulvis* of recognised ablity and learning. But when the decision became public, serious objections, based on religion as they were, began to be raised against the contemplated course of the Municipal Committee. Meanwhile, men of learning and influence prevailed upon the authorities to abstain from interfering with the religious sentiments of the subjects, even at the expense of imparing the beauty and grandeur of the Bazar. But the authorities apparently received it with a shock to their æsthetic sense. To put matters briefly; inspite of all opposition the said portion of the mosque was demolished in the presence of a *posse* of police.

The very act of destroying a portion of the Sacred Structure, which had been raised "by the hand of man to the glory of the Most High," was taken as an insult to Islam as it was bound to be since the demolition of a mosque is a sacrilege according to Islamic Law. And consequently the whole Muslim population of India was filled with sorrow and anguish. It need not be reminded here that the act itself which was committed on the 2nd

of July, 1913, a month before the so-called 'riot,' was in contravention of the letter and spirit of Queen Victoria's Proclamation issued on November, 1, 1858, to the princes and peoples of India. Innumerable meetings of protest were held throughout the length and breadth of India, denouncing the action of the Cawnpore authorities. The part played practically by the whole of the Hindu press at that juncture was simply praise-worthy. This sympathetic attitude of the Hindus towards their Muslim compatriots during that trouble, did more than anything else to bring about an alliance between the two great communities of India. And that was the one good result—besides many more—that accrued from the great evil.

On the 3rd August, 1913, *i.e.*, a month after the sacrilege, the Muhammadans of Cawnpore gathered together at the Id-gab for consultation. When the meeting was over, hundreds of people, including many youngsters, went straightaway to the mosque, and began to heap loose bricks on each other without mortar as symbolic of re-construction. This led to imaginary dangers, and consequently the police was sent down to the spot with a view

to disperse the agitated mob. After some scuffle, the police fired its famous volleys of shots and afterwards bayonetted those present there. And, in a short time, all was quiet. Many lay dead and wounded. And this was followed by a reign of terror which lasted upto the advent of the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq.

There poured in Cawnpore an army of pleaders and advocates to defend the 'rioters,' who were chained to the walls of the prison-house. They were many, including juveniles, who were afterwards released on the explicit excuse of their being too young. Maulvi Azad Subhani of the *Madrasa-i-Ilahyat*, Cawnpore, was one of those who were adorning the dark dungeon by their presence. No nobler and more innocent set of prisoners could have ever been secured by a high-handed police than these 'rioters, who had so far done nothing prejudicial to the public safety or inimical to the interest of the Government established by law in India.

Now Muhammad Ali was not sitting idle all through that uneasy time. In spite of much pressure brought to bear upon him by his numerous friends and visitors—including the *Mutawallis*—from Cawnpore, he had kept the

affair of the mosque out of his papers, till a part of it had been demolished. He had reposed full confidence in the sagacity and wisdom of his intimate quondom friend, Sir James Meston, but it was impossible for any honest journalist to be satisfied with the demolition of the mosque and in view of the heavy responsibility that he had taken upon himself in advising the Cawnpore Mussalmans against newspaper agitation while he was corresponding privately with the Lieutenant Governor, he was bound to agitate against the sacrilege. And from that time onward he was "in the press of knights and the thick of events," and with a view to come at the desired point, he boldly added his "needful length of sight and of arm" to what the Mussalmans of India already wanted, When, however, Sir James Meston plainly told the Deputation at Lucknow that he would do nothing in the matter, the position grew quite precarious. It was then that Muhammad Ali began his constitutional agitation. He also recognised that agitation in India would not be of much avail, and so he, accompanied by Syed Wazir Hasan, quietly proceeded to England to appeal to His Majesty's ministers,

and in the last resort, "to the British public." What had induced him to leave India so quietly was that with the sword of Damocles hanging on the head of every journalist, and a judiciary still unseparated from the executive, they felt that it was possible for people to throw obstacles in his way if they announced their intention to go on that mission, and had this come about in the very least, much valuable time would have been lost. There, in England, both these representatives did useful work in enlightening the British public and the English press which knew nothing of the demolition of the Mosque and the subsequent agitation during the entire month which intervened between the sacrilege and the so-called 'riot,' and the British public was, therefore, shocked by the news of the riot which created impression that "some blood thirsty ruffians had broken the law and the heads of the police without rhyme or reason." The representatives of India had to work under unfavourable conditions because of the ignorance of the British public on Indian affairs on the one hand and the fatal misunderstanding between the Rt. Hon. Mr, Ameer Ali and these two Muslim emissaries on the other. But in spite of this

their work was creditable and commensurate with the importance of their mission.

The trial of 'rioters' did not last long, for the Viceroy visited Cawnpore on Oct. 14, 1913 and announced his decision that "the demolished portion should be rebuilt in the same relative position as before but upon an arcade above the pavement of the new road." He also intimated that the prosecution of persons charged with 'rioting' would be abandoned. This decision was arrived at with the concurrence of Sir James Meston. And it was thus the Messenger of Mercy and Peace brought the unfortunate episode to a happy close, and gave back to the country the lost peace and good will.

The gracious message of peace personally delivered by the Viceroy effectually calmed the Muslim excitement, and though the compromise about the demolished portion of the mosque did not accord with the Muslim Law on the subject, Mussalmans, as a whole, felt that it would be churlish to criticise the gift of the Peacemaker, and loyally accepted the viceregal decision as a political settlement of great value to the empire and significance to the people. The situation cleared instantly.

peace was restored to a distracted community, and Lord Hardinge's wise and timely action was hailed with "expressions of gratitude throughout Muslim India."

After a few days from their return from England, the aforesaid emissaries sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy:—

"Having seen the depressed and distressing condition of Cawnpore Mussalmans last August, and on our return seeing their joy and hopefulness to-day, we feel we owe it to your Excellency to bear witness to the magical powers of your loving message addressed to them last October, and to thank you most cordially for bringing peace to an afflicted people. Surely the universal affection for your Excellency of thousands of Massalmans who received us to-day at Cawnpore must be the most acceptable present that could be offered to your Excellency on this day. May this Christmas usher in an uninterrupted era of peace and good will inaugurated by your Excellency in our Motherland, and may your name be handed down to coming generations as a great peace bringer."

The Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy

sent the following reply by wire to the foregoing Christmas greetings:—

"The Viceroy sends many thanks for your appreciative message, and is glad to hear that peace prevails at Cawnpore."

Now, for this settlement Muhammad Ali never claimed any credit as the above telegram shows, and was ever anxious to ascribe it to the Viceroy. But it would be sheer injustice if I, who know the inner history of the matter, should not make it public that it was Muhammad Ali's interview with an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of U. P., Sir James La Touche, a member of the Secretary of States' Council which culminated in Lord Hardinge being persuaded from Home to intervene in the manner in which he did.

THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL MISSION

It is needless to give in detail here the state of agony through which Turkey was passing during the Balkan war when she was left to her own resources which were not only limited, but, at the same time, inefficient. Nevertheless, Turkey managed to cope with the adverse situation as best she could. But the suffering and distress caused by the desperate struggle for the glory of Faith and national honour was such as could never be imagined. Consequently a scheme was set on foot by Muhammad Ali and Dr. Mukhter Ahmad Ansari to organise and equip a medical mission for service as field hospital with the Turkish army. And this was with a view to "lighten the sufferings of the Turks who were fighting single handed with the Balkan allies." The scheme was published in the *Comrade* for general information in the last week of October, 1912, and met with a ready response from every part of the country. About two lakhs of rupees were necessary to put the scheme into practice. And by the end of November arrangements were almost com-

plete. Dr. Ansari had got eight fully-qualified medical men, half-a-dozen dressers and about a dozen male nurses and ambulance bearers. It was truly an All-India medical mission, for it included representatives nearly from every province of India.

Before the mission left for Bombay the members were presented to Lord Hardinge, who "shook hands with everybody and expressed that the Mission would prove even more useful than the other medical missions and field-hospitals, as cholera being peculiarly an Asiatic epidemic, Indian doctors were far more qualified to deal with it than European doctors. His Excellency also expressed his gratifications at seeing the Old boys of the Aligarh College so well represented. His Excellency once more repeated his assurance that he would cable to the Secretary of State requesting him to arrange for the necessary assistance of British officials both in Egypt and Turkey."

The mission left Bombay on the 15th of December, 1912, on board the "Sardegna," and reached its destination on the first of January 1913. There was a good deal of useful work in Turkey in store for the Mission which was quite timely. It proved of real service and

accomplished with distinction the work with which it was entrusted by the Mussalmans of India. All thanks are due to the Father of the Mission, Muhammad Ali, and its Director Dr. Ansari; and they, too, can feel all through their life, a legitimate pride in what they were able to accomplish for humanity in so short a time. The Mission returned to India after a lapse of about six months. The main portion of the equipment of the mission was presented to the Turkish Red Crescent Society, and the rest was brought to India to serve as a nucleus for the Indian Red Crescent Society. At the outbreak of the great conflict in Europe, the belongings were placed at the disposal of the Government of India and were gratefully accepted.

DELHI AFFAIRS

Since Muhammad Ali's appearance in Delhi in 1912, he lost no time in kindling an altogether new enthusiasm in the public life of the town. He was the friend of the masses and always fought for their cause, notwithstanding slander, back-biting and abuse by the rival cliques of the Delhi Muslims. Public life in this country, if it is honest, is often fraught with danger and "exposed to the poisonous fangs of a peculiarly reptile breed." Consequently Mahammad Ali found in the existing atmosphere of Delhi a hot-bed for himself, but he went on with his work "without much ado about it."

In the meantime a Butchers' Strike took place which continued for over a month. The butchers of Delhi had struck work as a protest against certain of the restrictions imposed on them by the officiating president of the Municipality in the way of obtaining a license and other matters in defiance of all precedent. Muhammad Ali, who had the confidence of the public, took up the matter into his own hands,

and when matters grew too critical, tried to bring about an understanding between the two parties. In pursuance of this object he exerted day and night, with the result that the Municipality had to revise its bye-laws and to make certain modifications with a view to appease the growing discontent of the butchers. Had Muhammad Ali not cared to co-operate with the authorities, the strike would have been prolonged for an indefinite period, and the discomfort of a large section of the Delhi people and the legitimate discontent of the butchers would have assumed a dangerous shape.

As in this matter so in others, Muhammad Ali proved a friend of the masses. And that was the secret of his popularity. He was not one of those arm-chair leaders who keep aloof from the masses and look down upon them. No, he was of the type of Mahatma Gandhi in this respect and never felt ashamed to stand by them when they were wronged. But however ridiculous it may appear, it was not the larger aspects of his politics that offended the authorities so much as incidents of this type.

CONTRIBUTION TO MUSLIM POLITICS.

For a correct appreciation of the value of the political work accomplished by Muhammad Ali it is necessary to recall to mind the state of Muslim politics which confronted the political *debutante* when he first made his appearance on the political stage. At that time there was no organised Muslim public opinion at all and Muslim India also was lying dormant. Decorated imbecility and titled sycophancy had taken the place of leadership, which consisted in asking for favours from the Government whose actions were regarded by an ordinary Muslim politician as too sacred to be criticised. In a word, mendicancy on the one hand and submissiveness on the other, were the characteristic features of the Muslim leaders of that time, who had formed an oligarchy of their own which consisted of narrow-minded egoists and life-less doetards, who had practically lived their day.

The work which awaited Muhammad Ali was not only difficult but hazardous as well. But with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness he set about accomplishing the destruction

necessary to the birth of that Muslim democratic spirit which was once the marvel of the world and to which he stood a sponsor. Old idols were unceremoniously dragged from their cherished places of influence and power and shattered to pieces. Power was soon wrested from those who had the sole monopoly of it, and transferred to younger and sturdier ones. The monopoly of power hitherto enjoyed by opportunists and sycophants was once for all broken. The Khan Bahadur ceased to be the awe-inspiring thing he once was, but he stood exposed in all his nakedness to the merciless scrutiny of his community. The official was also shorn of his supposed infallibility and came to be criticized and found fault with like an ordinary mortal. The Government of the country ceased to be sacrosant and came in for its due share of frank, honest and fearless criticism.

But Muhammad Ali's work did not stop here. Under his fostering care Muslim India grew into a living, virile and self-assertive thing. Muslim India emerged from its old isolation with new fires of enthusiasm, to participate in the political activities of the country along with other communities of India.

HINDU-MUSLIM ENTENTE

It is sometimes averred that Muhammad Ali was a great communal worker, and that whatever he did, he did for his own community only. So far as the first part of the statement is concerned, the answer is in the affirmative. But the second part is one on which opinions must differ. I have been in personal touch with him for a long time, and it was a habit with me then to mark the trend of his thoughts and activities. What I gathered was that notwithstanding his love and zeal of service for his own community, he never ignored the claims of the Hindus and other communities of India. He always pined for a union, was ever anxious to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted actions, on equal terms on questions of public good, and never wished that the Hindus and the Mussalmans should go on drifting from each other. But one thing is quite certain. He was never in favour of any "patched-up" peace or a compromise on the explicit plea of its not being lasting at all. "No friendship," he once wrote, "can endure

long that is not based on mutual confidence and respect." Muhammad Ali therefore, began from the very beginning. He paid a visit to the Central Hindu College, Benares, probably in the year in which the Muslim League was founded, to study the Young Hindu ideals and patriotic feelings, and there delivered a lecture before the students on Hindu-Muslim relations. He pointed out then that if Hindus became true Hindus and Mussalmans true Mussalmans, all the friction would disappear in a moment. Muhammad Ali of course insisted, for the welfare of India, that "the communal sentiment and temper must change and interest must grow indentical before the Hindus and the Muslims can be welded into a united nationality."

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

The accompanying paragraphs will bring home to the readers Muhammad Ali's views on the above subject which is engrossing the attention of almost all the great Indian leaders of to-day :—

The principle underlying State education in India have been shaped by expediency and low utilitarianism. The main idea of the Government has been to train men for the ministerial posts in the public services, and naturally enough the type of public instruction hitherto in vogue in this country, has provided a mere mechanical training of a few intellectual faculties. It has absolutely failed to train personality, because it has been innocent of ideals, has been inspired by no collective will and has consequently failed to touch character and mind with a unifying purpose. Public education, organised and directed by a foreign government, cannot become national in the

broad sense of the term. It may produce useful and clever men. After immense labour and expense it may even produce men with highly trained faculties and initiative to strike out new lines of career, men who may succeed in business enterprise or become captains of industry. But it will rarely give birth to men of large purposes and great ideas who would sum up in their personality the hopes and the intellectual and moral possibilities of the race, and would in turn enlarge the scope of those possibilities, and enrich the common life with new hopes. Only a *national* education can evolve this virile, ample and gracious type. And yet a truly national education for India is a remote possibility, and all plans for the training of the younger generations are, at present, to be in the nature of compromise. For, it cannot be too often repeated that the only efficient instrument for the organisation of modern education is the State. Decentralisation may be good for some administration purposes, but the vast problem of education can be treated satisfactorily only on wholesale principles. This is specially true of elementary education. A person without elementary education of the things necessary for a purposeful

existence, cannot be a good citizen. The contrivance of civilisation for a rapid circulation of ideas and the despatch of the work of daily life which the knowledge of the three R's represents, is as much necessary for the purposes of efficient citizenship as the organisation of the social services and the apparatus of public Justice. Every recognised duty of the State means, in a sense, a corresponding surrender of individual right. Public law implies compulsion. The State in its modern sense is an instrument of social re-adjustment according to the varying needs of the community. It has already some of the most intimate personal prerogatives of the present. The collective will and mind, as expressed through State organisation, have been declared to be far better fitted to look after the training of the younger generation than the caprice, the inadequate will and imperfect intelligence of the individual. Elementary education therefore is one of the primary duties of a modern State and the Indian Government can never have an easy conscience as long as that duty remains undischarged.

As regards secondary and higher education, we think that the highest results can be

obtained only *if the organisation and control are in the hands of the Indians themselves.* The only key to the solution of this aspect of the problem is to encourage private enterprise. Indian Government, by its very character and constitution, can only be a very clumsy instrument in evoking the collective mind of India. The state schools and colleges and universities, however efficient and well-equipped, cannot train character and personality on *national* lines. It is only a Hindu or a Muslim University that can furnish the necessary ground for the germination of the people's genius. The restriction of the scope of these universities, from the stand-points of India's collective educational needs, is the most short-sighted blunder committed by the Secretary of State. The impulses for wholesome national life, which a contact with Western culture, has called forth amongst the Indian mind want a home for a full, many-sided expression. The decision recently announced in regard to the scope of the Hindu and the Muslim University schemes, would choke these impulses and retard the development of Indian education on right lines. Mr. Montagu is satisfied to think that "the Government might be proud of their

record, and if their educational ideals were realised, they would have laid the foundation of a national system of education by a net-work of really valuable schools, colleges and universities, so that Indian students would be able to qualify themselves in India for the highest position in every walk of life." The last ideal may be realised, but a "national system of education" can only be evolved on *national lines*, and in accordance with the inspiration of *national* " hopes and genius. The control and direction of high education must be in the hands of the Indians themselves if India is to grow through unity of purpose and training to a vigorous and complete national life."

PAN-ISLAMISM

Much has been said and written on Pan Islamism and its political ambitions by European "scholars" as well as by those non-Muslims who are supposed to be conversant with the teachings of Islam. The spirit in which these articles have been written is, however, one and the same. Their style may be different, their illustrations may be multiform, but the thing which they drive at, never differs. The consequences of these so-called scholarly articles have been very sad and injurious to the integrity of Islam. And it is because of such unwholesome and mischievous articles and utterances that Pan-Islamism has come to be considered as a great danger, and now, like the Yellow and Black perils, it has become a distinct entity.

That Europe regards Pan-Islamism as a movement directed against her, can be proved by an intelligent perusal of those articles

which have appeared from time to time in English and continental periodicals. The *Times'* notorious article written immediately after the "Cawnpore Affair" is merely one of those articles which have found a favoured place in the columns of that reactionary paper. It is strange that in India, too, there are certain leaders of thought and men of influence who unhappily fall in with the views of the charitable critics of Pan-Islamism. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is one of them. And I regret that a man of his education and calibre had sided with the adverse critics of Islam. To him the movement is entirely political and "is a distinct challenge to every non-Muslim State authority holding sway over any Muslim population. It is a standing menance to the peace of every people composed partly of non-Muslim and partly of Muslim populations." Besides, he considers that "the dictum that the Indian Mussalman is first a Muslim and then an Indian. . . has a very sinister meaning behind it." Mr. Pal also accuses the Government of India of "unwittingly" strengthening "the Pan-Islamic sentiment" in this country "by pandering to the vanity of the Muslim leaders by giving them preferential treatment

in the constitution of the resently 'Reformed Council.'"* Again, a writer in the *Dawn*

(Vide Mr. Pal's book "Nationality and Empire," published In 1916.)

Magazine of Calcutta, read sometime ago in the educational activities of the Mussalmans a tremendous motive seeking the political rehabilitation of Islam and the establishment of its ascendancy as a world-power. He identified the demand of the Muslim University at Aligarh with a desire to establish a centre for the training of "Pan-Islamism" to Mussalmans who would spread forth as missionaries in the world to preach the advent of the "Empire of Islam," and rouse armies of fanatics to work for the overthrow of Christendom.

The meaning which the aforesaid writers have attached to the Pan-Islamic movement now on foot in the Muhammadan world, is not only far-fetched but ridiculous. The designs behind these writings need no comment, especially when it is perfectly known that Pan-Islamism has been a source of constant trouble to a set of Orientalists, "who are more concerned with the creation of bogeys than of books."

Pan-Islamism is a movement based on religious fraternity, and its foundation was laid

1300 years ago by our Holy Prophet at the time when he proclaimed loud and wide that "Muslims are brothers in religion." It is not in any sense a ne w movement at all though it appears so to non-Mussalmans. When asked about the progress of this movement in Turkey, Halit Halid Bey, the late Consul-General of Turkey in India, told me amongst other things that the word "Pan-Islamism" was purely of European origin and that he never used that term to denote the religious fraternity because of its corrupted sense. This term came into prominence during the Balkan war when a great wave of sympathy for Turks was felt throughout the Muslim world. At that time Europe might have taken the outward show of sympathy to mean some plot to destroy Christian countries. Nothing can be farther from truth than to say that Muslims under the leadership of Turkey would ever wage war against Christianity. To enter into a general crusade against Christendom is contrary to the spirit of the Koran. It needs no reasoning to prove that no such thing is contemplated in future. Pan-Islamism means nothing but the general uplifting of the depressed Mussalmans to the platform of

equality, justice and liberty. It also means the general strengthening of commercial relations, based as they would be on religious ties, among the Mussalmans of the world. Thus the Chinese and the Turks, the Indians and the Persians, the Arabs and the Africans, will unite not only in the common bond of religious brotherhood, but also of commerce. It is, in a way, also Political, but stripped altogether of diplomatic bearings and designs. The future of Pan-Islamism is thus entirely religious, social and commercial, and in no sense whatever will it ever be politically aggressive.

Muhammad Ali, in the best sense of the term was a Pan-Islamist as all Muslim leaders are, and he was perfectly in accord with the views expressed above. The following once appeared in the *Comrade* :—

"Pan-Islamism, when we come to consider its etymology, is a meaningless tissue of passion and prejudice. If it means anything, it refers to the existence of a community of sentiment and aspiration among the Mussalmans of the world as brought into existence by their religion. In that case, Islam bears exactly the same connotation, being the name

of a set of beliefs and ideals common to the entire Mussalman races. Interpreting the word in this sense, no Mussalman need be ashamed of its application. *His sympathies are co-extensive with his religion, and a race and a country has never captured him to the extent of the utter immersion in a narrow patriotism of the ideals* which the acceptance of Islam had made his. But if we take the phrase to mean as some scare-mongers of the Yellow Press in Europe tell us it means, some hidden political tendencies of modern Islam, struggling into an organised combination in order to throw back the tide of European aggression, we cannot but regard it as a figment of some heated brain. The progressive forces of modern civilisation have no doubt produced a spirit of restlessness in the Mussalman populations of the world. But the unrest is entirely the outcome of their consciousness about their intellectual and moral degradation. They want to reform their society, to grow in knowledge and self-respect and to enjoy all the amenities of an age of progress and freedom. Every Mussalman sympathises with his brother Mussalman in this desire, be they as far apart as Morocco

and China. Surely there is nothing dangerous and immoral in this aspiration. The Mussalmans have proved their loyalty as subject races under alien systems of government. In China and Russia their patriotism has never been called into question. They have developed the true civic sense and the necessary political consciousness as citizens of State. Islam does not hamper such development, *Territorial patriotism is not at all incompatible with the spiritual catholicity of a religion* that has declared in a set of common ideals the brotherhood of man, and the supreme shallowness of the distinctions reared by the prejudice of color and race.......*Mussalmans know this that Pan-Islamism is the cry of the aggressive Europeans, and that from race prejudice it has grown into a cult.....If Pan-Islamism is anything different from every-day Islam, the Mussalmans do not believe it.* Its real significance can be explained by some of those gentlemen who founded the Pan-Islamic society of London."

Muhammad Ali believed and still believes like Dr. Iqbal of Lahore that "Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple rationalism purge it of the dross of superstition as well as of

Godless materialism." Once more read the words of Muhammad Ali :—

"What was the essence of the Islamic civilisation? It was not Art, though Art formed the basis of Greek culture. It was not Metaphysics, though Metaphysics supplied a substratum to Hindu civilisation. And it was not politics, though Politics is the foundation of modern European society. It was social ethics. Islam was a *mazhab*—a pathway—and neither contemplation nor conquest can be the true *mazhab* of humanity. If the puritanic character of that faith had discouraged music; if its ideality had checked the growth of sculpture and painting; if its *tagwa* or god-fearingness had choked the channel of Arab poetry of the Days of Ignorance, with its free loves and wars of vengeance; if its horror of subtleties had made it unattractive of the abstrues thinker, it had at least supplied the Muslim with a single guide of conduct. Not that the flow of Art or music could be checked for ever; for in caligraphy, in carpet-weaving and in architecture the Muslim found outlets for his genius, and, as in architecture so in music, the Muslim graft on the original Aryan plant improved the first beyond recognition. Not that

in Literature, Philosophy or Science, thirteen centuries of Islam have been barren; for the names of Firdausi and S'adi, Hafiz and Khayyam, Abu Nawas and Mutanabbi, Mir and Ghalib, Averroes and Avicenna, Gazzali and Razi, Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmed Khan, are proof enough that the Lamp of Letters was kept alight. But more than all these, the glory of Islam has been that not a soul in the philosopher's closet or the Kitchen had been left without the consolation of religion in its adversities and its perplexities, and that no human being could fail to find readily an easily intelligible rule of conduct in the Koran, that most practical of all codes of ethics for all aspects of life, for all the functions of father or son, husband or wife, neighbour or friend, citizen or subject, king or conqueror."

Now, this fraternity of Faith, as is shown above, was brought into being by the Prophet himself. Individuals have felt sympathy and a brotherly feeling, but an organised brotherhood is yet not fully developed. To develop it to the full is what is connoted by Pan-Islamism. And Muhammad Ali, being an embodiment of all that is good in Islam, tried in his own

humble way to organise the brotherly feeling which is and will ever be found in the hearts of the Believers. He collected funds for his afflicted brethren, in Tripoli and Turkey only under a heavy religious and humanitarian responsibility ; he organised a Medical Mission for Turkey merely because he believed that it was his sacred *duty* to alleviate the sufferings of humanity. There was no other motive behind it. And hence it should never be misconstrued and misinterpreted.

AS A SPEAKER

Those of us who had the privilege of hearing the varions speeches of Muhammad Ali can very well recall to our minds how impressive he was in his speech and how incisive in his style and how logical in his arguments. His persuasive style of delivery, his matchless power of oration only equalled by his enthusiastic patriotism, his clearness of vision, and his unique way of putting his acute observation before the public, can be well understood if we paint before our mind's eye that robust figure of Muhammad Ali standing on the platform, addressing the audience with his characteristic ardour and zeal of a vehement enthusiast, holding before it, as it were, a faithful mirror of the country's situation, tackling the complex and disputed questions which baffle intellect, with tact and intelligence. It was a matter of great delight to hear him speak—how he felt the pulse of his audience; how he strove to evoke the locked-up emotions of each individual forming a unit of the audience, and raised

them to the highest pitch; how he quoted facts and figures when any question of a practical nature was at stake! It is no exaggeration to say that to a man standing without the pandal, the voice of Muhammad Ali, when swayed by emotions would appear like the noise of a thunder roaring in a distant corner. How he had acquired mastery over the language; how his pleasing periods, like the waves rising and falling on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, rose and fall with cadence, touching every chord of human heart. As a speaker, Muhammad Ali had combined in himself the accuracy and exactness of a fact-teller, the wisdom and insight of a statesman and the essential qualities of a well-merited orator.

AS A JOURNALIST

Long before Muhammad Ali appeared on the political horizon of India as a journalist, he used to contribute thoughtful articles to various periodicals of India. But since he began to edit the famous *Comrade*, his sparkling style of writing English became known far and wide. Among the Mussalmans, at least, there is perhaps none who can fairly compete with him in writing English. He had attained an unrivalled mastery over the English language which can be brought home to every intelligent reader of his articles. In Urdu, too, he wrote with a force which can hardly be surpassed. His writings were characterised by deep thought, sobriety of judgment, keen incisive wit and a delightful interest which was kept alive from beginning to end. He was a bold, unsparing, though sympathetic, critic of the government measures, and used to show the" faults of the admistrators,' but with the sole object of removing them and bridging the gulf which lay yawning between the rulers and the ruled. The "ample space"

in which Muhammad Ali roamed, can best be described in the words of an ex-President of the All-India Muslim League. "We reserve," said Sir Ali Imam, "the right of frankly fearlessly and boldly criticizing the measures of Government: we reserve the right to protest, however respectfully, against the continuance of certain of its methods; we reserve the right to refuse to believe in the soundness of a particular policy of it; and we also reserve the right of standing shoulder to shoulder with our brethren of other denominations when we find our country under a real grievance. But at the same time we declare that in our relations with Government we will not permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgment and create disaffection."

AS A POET

" A poet," says Emerson, "is no rattlebrain, saying what comes uppermost, and because he says everything, saying, at last, something good, *but a heart in unison with his time and country*. There is nothing whimsical and fantastic in his production, but *sweet and sad and earnest, freighted with the weightiest convictions*, and pointed with the most determined aim which any man or class knows of in his times." The same is true of Muhammad Ali. Like Gray, he has not written much ; but whatever he has given to the world, proves the mettle of the man. His poetry is essentially the production of the age in which he moves, lives and has his being, and its dominating feature is practical religion. The fortunes of his co-religionists in Turkey, Persia and elsewhere, had considerably influenced his mind, but like a true Muslim, he never despaired. His religious fervour is never morbid like that of a recluse. He is convinced of a bright future in store for his religion. He sees a reflection of the past glories of Islam in the future. This note of

inspiring hopefulness in his poetry is in common with Iqbal, the study of whose poetry —at least in my opinion—is not only a source of spiritual inspiration, but *per se* an act of worship.

Muhammad Ali's poems remain, more or less limited to his friends who carry them about from one place to the other. After the poets of his age he has also witten several odes, but they are almost devoid of such terms as *gul* (rose) and *bulbul* (nightingale) which were once the very back-bone of Urdu poetry. In that respect he follows Hali, whose pioneer work in the cause of Muslim renaissance will always continue to find a cherished place in the memories of the Muslims of India.

Muhammad Ali's language is not difficult like Galib's or Iqbal's, but the theme under-lying is, sometimes, too deep to be readily realised. Nevertheless, he can be understood by all fairly-educated people, as his style is generally lucid, sweet and appealing to heart.

Below the English rendering of a few of his couplets is given, though I belive that the original beauty can never be reproduced in any translation :—

1. You may go on imagining that annihila-

tion is in store for me, but the Unseen has disposed otherwise, and has given me an ever-lasting life.

2. I rejoice that the message of self-surrender which long ago was addressed to Hussain, the son of Ali, has been adressed to me also.

3. This invitation comes for the *hour is* of heaven—I come—for the challenge of the field of slaughter is for me.

4. The true Unity consists in this that on the Day of Judgment God may declare: This servitor of mine contemns the two worlds for love of me.

5. God-fearingness banishes all thoughts of fear and anguish from the mind. That is a world quite different from ours, for there the mind is without care and anxiety.

To put briefly Muhammad Ali loved the only independent Mussalman power which controlled and protected the sacred places of Islam. And at the same time, he was second to none in praising and appreciating the British people. It was his love on the one side and appreciation on the other that led him to try to bring about an understanding between the greatest Muhammadan power and the greatest Muslim Empire. Out of the entire Mussalman population of the world, more than 85 millions are under Great Britain, while in Turkey where Islam is the national religion and where other religions are wonderfully tolerated, there are about 15 millions of Muslims. In India there are more than 70 millions of Mussalmans who have always remained loyal to their king. Here "purification of our Muslim faith," and the loyalty of the Mussalmans to the non-Muslim Government of the country in which we live, are entirely "compatible objects," and this has always been the ideal of the Mussalmans

of this country to which Muhammad Ali was no exception.

Before Turkey's intervention in the European struggle, Muhammed Ali pointed out, in the strongest terms possible, that the "vital Turkish interests do not point to any possibility of such action on her part, and the Teutons have certainly no claim on Turkish gratitude. Austria-Hungary officially despoiled Turkey of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Germany actively supported the Italian raid on Tripoli, and her whole policy in relation to Turkey has naturally been based on calculated and extreme selfishness." Again, he wrote in his most famous and out-spoken article, "The Choice of the Turks"—the article which has brought all this misery upon him and his equally-gifted brother, Shaukat Ali—that "Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single Anadd, much less a street roit in a single town or a village of India by the Muslim sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrass their own Government." Moreover, when Turkey was wavering in spite of her solemn promises of neutrality, it was very much feared that she might any day be dragged to range herself

with the enemies of the King-Emperor. Accordingly, Muhammad Ali and Dr. Ansari sent the following cablegram to His Excellency Talaat Bey: "*Having most carefully considered the situation*, we emphatically believe it would be disastrous for Turkey and the entire Muslim world, if Turkey does not maintain the strictest neutrality. We entreat you to think a thousand times before launching into war. In case of war between Turkey and England, our condition also will be extremely sad. Please convey this our respectful and earnest message to the Sardar-i-Azam (Grand Vizier) and Damad Enver Pasha."

Now, do not these endeavours sufficiently indicate that Muhammad Ali never wished that these two powers should ever come into direct conflict with each other? And when this dreadful calamity actually came to pass, he received it with profound grief. I remember the occasion quite well when Muhammad Ali came out of his drawing-room with Reuter's cablegram in his hand reading aloud the actual wordings of it to all of his men, sub-editors and clerks included. Hearing the loud din—for Muhammad Ali's was rather a monstrously loud voice—I hurriedly went

straight to him and saw that tears were in his eyes. This can give us indication that he was wounded to the very core of his heart.

Now to the subject again. Muhammad Ali recognised fully that "Great Britain is the only power whose vast imperial interests require the continued existence of Turkey as a strong and independent state. Nothing can be more gratifying to Mussalmans in India and elsewhere than that an empire containing the largest number of Muslim subjects, should be the friend and ally of the greatest Muslim Empire in the world." Muhammad Ali was cognisant of the benefits that would accrue to both from such a friendly alliance, and he was one of those who never gave up the hope that Turkey and Great Britain would ultimately come to realise of how great a value their friendly co-operation would be to both." But the spreading wild fires of war did not leave the Young Turks immune, and thus the aspiration of the Indian Mussalmans was brought to nought. And now, late though we are, we wish that the Traditional Friend of the Turks would once more come to the rescue of Turkey.

The above quotations were Muhammad Ali's pre-war views. Now see his post-war views :—

Passed by the Censor. Chhindwara, C.P.,

..............1916.

My dear——,

I received your latter of the——when I was very ill. I was passing no less than 8 p. c. of sugar in some 120 to 140 oz. of urine daily, and the doctor would not have been suprised to find one morning that coma had set in and taken me clean off from this world to the next. Luckily, diabetes is a painless disease, but eczema, its precursor and by-product, followed on the rapid increase of sugar, and, being in the groin, laid me up for 10 or 12 days. These details are, however, much too unsavoury, and I mention them only to explain why I did not write to you earlier.

Well, I confess I read your letter with peculiarly mixed feelings, and for a moment even questioned the wisdom of having written to you at all after having dropped practically all corespondence with my English friends for nearly a year, as I had explained to you. But, on second thoughts, I am glad I wrote to you and invited the letter I received. If my own apparently humorous and cheerful letter

as you call it, was in reality very hard to write, I can also understand that yours could not have been an easy one either, and I can frankly say I bear you no grudge for having written in the way you have done. In fact there is much in it which would have been a pleasing reading at any time, and is all the more so to-day. But after your telling me in a throughly straightforward manner that you cannot correspond with a man who wants your enemies to win, I would not have thought of writing this letter to you were it not for the feeling that I owed a reply not so much to myself as to the cause for which I had striven and wrought with a persistence almost pathetic.

There are several underlying assumptions in your letter which, in ordinary circumstances, I would have questioned and even argued about; but to-day I am somewhat indifferent to such things and shall let them rest where they are. But I feel it is only right that you should know, my dear........, that in one thing at least you and I are very unequally matched. Even in these "spacious times" you can frankly say: "He who is not for us is against us." but I—even I, who, as you say, have

never been good at the game of shirking—could have at no time indulged in the luxury of so much candour.

Most of us go to England at a very impressionable age, and the freer air of that country, and the hospitality that at least in our days Oxford, our common Alma Mater, extended to us made us apt to forget that things would be different in India on our return, so that our more abundant emotions hurt us considerably in their reaction in the altered conditions of India. Luckily I have been spared even the passing pain of such reaction so far as my own College or, Versity friends among the English officials in India have been concerned. The desire of.......to revive old associations, as he put it, when for the first time after ten long years we met at Calcutta, and his hospitality when at his pressing invitation I stayed with him at ......rather than with my brother-in-law with whom my wife and children were staying and your own characteristic friendliness and offer of hospitality when my wife's illness and the treatment officially meted out to the *Comrade* some 18 months ago had done their best to upset me, are things that I cannot easily forget. But they are all the more memorable

because they stand out in bold relief againt a background of chill reserve, if nothing less pleasent, which has been the experience of so many of my countrymen. Indeed, there are far too many artificial barriers standing between the official world in India and the non-official to make free intimacy of intercourse possible. And even in the more matter-of-fact pursuit of politics, there has *always* been far too much of make-believe and shirking and skimmings over, whether we be good at the game or the reverse.

But knowing how vital were the issues and how perilous the situation, I had taken my courage in both hands and had for four years urged on the Government in India, and still more on the Government in England, that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of a thorough understanding and reconciliation between the Islamic World and an Empire with a Moslem population twice as large as the Christian or White population of Great Britain, Ireland and the dominions beyond the Seas. You will confess that nothing was lacking in in the way of force or frankness or persistence in my exposition of this view of world-politics, and if to-day even your assump-

tion of my views and position as regards the belligerents in this war be correct, the situation in the Dardanelles, in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, or on our own North-Western border cannot with any justice be held to be chargeable to my account. I foresaw all this four years ago and never ceased to warn Government since, and is there no satisfaction to me to be able to say to-day: "Hadn't I told you so?" when, in addition to the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen who have so meekly and uncomplainingly laid down their lives for you and yours, scores of thousands of houses have been left desolute in lands and to people that I love and regard as my own? The still small voice of a humble journalist who is an alien in his own land, could not be heard or heeded in the din of the tempestuous diplomacy of the Muscovite, and the results have been far too serious to the world for me to seek any relief in complaints about my own loss of liberty and of every source of income except the "subsistence allowance" which Government has fixed for me. Nevertheless, I think you should know that it does hurt if one like you who was expected to be in a position to understand and appreciate the cause for which I

strove with all my might, is content to sum up the whole situation in the conventional formula: "He who is not for us is against us," or in some simple phrase such as a "man who wants our enemies to win." I had at least worked as no Christian or Englishman had worked to the end that some of those whom you now call your enemies should be your friends, so that if even then this great catastrophe occurred I could mingle my prayers with yours without sacrificing my soul and proving false and faithless to all that I held sacred and holy.

I am not insensible to the promptings of your heart and mind, and fully realise that the territorial patriotism in the atmosphere in which you were born and bred, must urge you to consider every one who is not for you to be against you. But, my dear friend, mine is a patriotism no less if it is supernational and extra-territorial, and laughing at physical distance and material barriers, scales over the high walls of the Himalayas and skims over the surrounding seas. It is true I do not owe it to the accident of birth. But can it be less intense because it is the outcome of the most solemn convictions

that man can have about the divine purpose of all creation and a common outlook on this world and the next which I share with some of those whom you call your enemies and against whom your people have unsheathed the sword? Blood and breeding appear to me as totally irrelevant and infinitely petty in a war in which (as you say) such large and human issues are involved as Good and Evil. Nevertheless, I recognise that the major portion of the world has not yet progressed out of that stage of evolution in which national and racial labels have as great a significance as family and tribal labels had in an earlier age, and I have no right to under-estimate the intensity of patriotic feeling where patriotism is still based on geographical, ethnical and political divisions. Therefore I honour you all the more for your faith and shall only say with the Quran: "To you your faith, to me mine." *Lakum deenukumwa liya deen.*

This being my last letter to you, let me not close it without expressing my genuine grief at the extremely sad news you give me about three of your brothers. But to one of your nature it must no doubt be a great consolation that two of them died and one will never be

able to fight any more all because they had a cause which you and they alike held to be the noblest and the best and deserving of every possible human sacrifice. Not to all of us is given to lay down our lives for a cause so dear to us. But, then.

"They also work who only stand and wait." And to live for a great cause, and live up to it, is perhaps harder than to die for it. It is the longer grind. That is my own consolation at present.

God be with you !

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI.

FORFEITURE OF SECURITY

Before the Turks actively got involved in the Armageddon of Europe, the London *Times* had written a very insulting article entitled "The Choice of the Turks" in which it had, in its own tactless manner and threatening attitude, tried to help the Turks to make his choice, and prevail upon him to maintain the strictest neutrality in the present struggle. It had warned Turkey against waging any war on Greece even, which, by no stretch of imagination, could ever become Great Britain. The whole tenour of the article was not only illogical, but provocative at the same time. And consequently Muhammad Ali could not help writing a pointed reply to it, which appeared in the memorable issue of 26th September, 1914, *i.e.*, four days before Turkey's intervention, and incidentally the very date on which General Sir Edmund Barrow placed a memorandum before the Secretary of State for India recommending the Mesopotamian expedition.

A month or so after the publication of the

afore-mentioned article, the Keeper of "the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press" was served with a notice informing him that "the Governor-General in Council in pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Press Act declares the security of Rs. 2,000 deposited in respect of the said press, and all copies of the issue of the newspaper, called 'the Comrade,' bearing date the 26th of September, 1914, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty."

Now there can be no disputing the fact that the article was the most outspoken ever written by Muhammad Ali, and some of his friends consider it as his-master-piece. Mr. C. F. Andrews who had perused that article had remarked that it contained nothing but truth, and nothing for which he should have been punished. And whatever may be the case with bureaucrats, ordinary human beings with some pretensions to common-sense would not view the condemned article in that light. In that fine piece of political literature, Muhammad Ali had sincerely advised the Turks to abstain from participating in the European struggle, and at the same time he had asked the Indian Mussalmans to "assist the Government to the fullest extent of their power in

maintaining the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of India," in case a military collision between Great Britain and Turkey took place. He had also tried to induce the British Government to appease Turkey even if they had to do it at the expense of their temporary interests in Egypt. Whatever may be said about the merits or demerits of the said article one thing is quite certain that it had no "tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion or otherwise, to excite disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India," for we have seen that since the writing of the article the peace of India has *never* been disturbed by the "sympathisers" of Turkey, nor is there any likelihood of its ever being disturbed on this score if the Ali Brothers are released.

I could give the opinions of the English Press on the said article but for my conviction that the unrighteous decision that condemned the article, would not, at least for the present, be annulled. Muhammad Ali never preached sedition, nor was it within his domains to have done so. He was of course a bold and a frank critic. And though he is mulcted in a

fine of Rs. 2,000 for his reply to the *Times* yet this must be a consoling idea to him that his "last breath was spent in the cause of truth, justice and righteousness."

HIS INTERNMENT

From forfeiture of security the scene passes on to the Editor's internment, which came about in May, 1915. The news flashed round Delhi in no time, and was received throughout the town with profound indignation. It was quite unexpected, as Muhammad Ali's attitude towards the Government of India was all that could be desired, especially when Turkey's participation in the war had made the position of the Indian Mussalmans more critical. But he, like other Muslim leaders, proved equal to the task, and did nothing in the way of embarrasing the Government. His internment, for which no reason was then given, was, therefore, taken as a mockery of British Justice, and the confidence which the Mussalmans had in the Government, was considerably shattered on account of the high-handed and uncalled-for action of the authorities. Since that time innumerable meetings of protest have been held in all parts of India and several thousands of telegrams despatched to the Secretary of State

for India urging the release of the Ali Brothers Yet the Government have not budged an inch in their defiant attitude towards the country's demand.

It is now an open secret that ere the *fiat* for internment went forth, restrictions were placed on Muhammad Ali in his own native place at Rampur. And this was probably done with the concurrence, if not at the instance, of Sir James Meston. However, he was soon set free as people had begun to make all sorts of enquiries about him. But his real internment dates from 15th May, 1915, when he, along with his brother, was at first sent to Mahrauli, a village about 11 miles from Delhi. The scene of his removal from the public life of Delhi will long be remembered in the annals of this town. It was Friday and both the brothers had gone to the Jama Musjid to say their prayers. On that day many thousands of people had congregated in the said mosque to offer their prayers and to bid adieu to the two patriots who had done all they could, to promote their cause. I was also one of the spectators and could watch all that was happening. Both the brothers clasped hands with all they came in contact with, and advised them to

bear with self-restraint and forbearance the calamity which had befallen them. Hundreds of spectators, both old and young, were seen in tears at the sad plight of their leaders, while others prayed to the Almighty for their speedy release. Overcoming my weakness of shedding tears, I, too, got near them to bid my farewell, and both the brothers affectionately embraccd me and had an appropriate talk inspiring both hope and confidence in me. All these ceremonies took hours, and it was in the afternoon that the two brothers motored to Mahrauli, where they were quite at home, as their friends and strangers from Delhi used to visit them daily. But the internees could not enjoy this hospitality for a long time, as the Government removed them to a more solitary place at Lansdowne and thence to Chhindwara, where the only relieving feature is the affectionate hospitality of the general public towards the Ali Brothers.

I must state here a circumstance which I have forgotten to do above. At "the time when the order of internment was passed by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Muhammad Ali had been suffering continuously for over a year from diabetes, and shortly after the war had

broken out in Europe in August, 1914, he was so ill that for some weeks he could not leave his bed. When he was a little better his wife, who had been ailing for some months past, got very ill indeed. Soon after her condition became less critical. Muhammad Ali became engaged in litigation in connection with the forfeiture of the security of his Press, and this heavy work ended only in March, 1915, when the Doctors found that his health had been completely shattered by over-work and constant worry, and they warned him that if he did not at once cease all work and take thorough rest he was not likely to live very much longer. Accordingly he decided to leave Delhi together with his family, and after arranging with Shaukat Ali that he was to look after the business portion of the *Hamdard* while at Delhi in addition to his own educational and religious work that kept him pretty busy, and handing over charge of all editorial work to his four or five sub-editors, including the late Raja Ghulam Hussain of the *New Era*, he went to Rampur in the middle of April. . . But Muhammad Ali's health did not improve in the heat of Rampur, and His Highness the Nawab permitted him to leave after some

weeks and take up his residence at Mussoorie, where rooms had been taken for him in a Nursing Home. He came to Delhi with the intention of going to Ajmer to attend the 'Urs ceremony there and finally proceeding to Mussoorie to regain his health. But on coming to Delhi he fell ill and "the very second day orders of internment were passed against both the brothers by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi."

When the Ali Brothers were forced to live in internment in May 1915, no definite charge was then brought against them in spite of their repeated request for its specification. In the Administration report of the Delhi Province for the year 1915—16, only the following appeared under the chapter entitled "Protection":—

> "In the same month (May) was found necessary to intern Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali on account of the bad influence which their bitter propaganda against the British Government was having on a section of the Muhammadan Community."

"This is," writes Mr. O.B. Ghate, "the first indication of what the officials desired the public to believe as the grounds for their interning the two brothers, and it is not without its value as the 'first information' in the language of the criminal procedure of our law-courts." Its value is enhanced by yet another indication of the same kind furnished

some four months later by the then Home Member of the Government of India. On the 21st February, 1917, the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending to the Government of India a revision of the Defence of India Rules, 'so as to provide for the constitution in each province of a special machinery to consider the cases of persons whose movements or actions it is proposed to control under those rules.' The Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda moved an amendment to the resolution defining the 'special machinery' which Mr. Dadabhoy wished to be constituted as an Advisory Committee consisting of a High Court Judge, preferably an Indian, a practising Indian lawyer other than a Public Prosecutor, and a Sessions Judge.' Many non-official members of the council made speeches in support of these views, among them the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque spoke as follows :—

"………Sir, my own community, I mean Muhammadans, have suffered most in this respect. Men of great influence, men who are looked upon by the entire community with the greatest regard and affection have been

interned, and the entire community is absolutely ignorant why they have been interned and what is their fault. If we knew their fault, and if we knew that their cases were examined by responsible officers, perhaps we would not object. We would be sorry all the same but we would not object. Now what is the case? I say—and I feel my responsibility when I say it—that the vast majority of my community is entirely disaffected in this country as regards these internments. I have no hesitation in giving to the Government the names of some Mussalman leaders, and I hope the Hon. the Home Member will note these names, who have been interned and about whom the community feels so much. They are Mr. Muhammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. All these men are looked upon with great veneration and respect by the Muhammadans throughout India, and unfortunately their fault is not known. If they are at fault let them be interned by all means; we shall all side with the Goverment, but for Heaven's sake let us know their fault and the cause of their being interned. If there were any Advisory Committee such as proposed by my Hon.

friend Mr. Dadabhoy and my Hon. friend Mr. Chanda and the Committee gave its opinion, I think the whole community would be satisfied; at least they would know that there was strong suspicion or evidence against the people who are interned."

The then Home Member followed Mr. Haque and answered him in the following words:—

> "They (the interned) really fall into two classes.........One class is that of persons who are openly and avowedly preaching or publishing ill-will among His Majesty's subjects, or producing excitement or disquietitude, or arousing, it my be, dangerous fanaticism, and acting to the constant inconvenience of the King's Government and his officers and to the benefit of the king's enemy. In cases where persons are publicly making speeches or writing articles, and it is known that they are so doing, no one can deny that the only question to be decided is whether what they are doing is likely to be dangerous or prejudicial to the public safety, or to excite the public populace. You do not require Advisory Committee to tell you that. The Executive

Government has to decide that, upon the information before it, upon the knowledge and experience of its officers, and upon considerations of public welfare. The responsibility is theirs and they cannot delegate it to outside persons, whether lawyers or laymen. The responsibility is theirs alone and they must take that responsibility. The second class ....is the class of secret conspirators. Many of these men have record going back for many years. Some of them have been wandering about the country in disguise and under various *aliases*............It (the Government) cannot place before outsiders secret information that it may have of the enemy's plots, whether these be in the Far East, in Germany, or across the Frontier. These things cannot be stated. They cannot be made public———But I am willing to undertake this much, *i.e.*, to instruct Local Governments that in every case which belongs to the second category that I have referred to, namely, that category in which you have first to ascertain the facts against a man before you can make a deduction as to whether

his liberty is good or bad for the country in that case—though even in that case not necessarily before—but before or after the internment the proceeding should be examined by a judge or judges of some weight and experience in order that the Government may not act rashly or take action on information which admits of any considerable doubt."

Here again some light was thrown on the nature of the offence committed by Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali. "They were classed under the first category; the Hon. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, who had named them and desired to be told what their fault was and wanted at least an Advisory Committee such as proposed by the Hon. Mr. Chanda to give its opinion, was told that there was nothing to go before an Advisory Committee, that the brothers and the other Mussalmans, all publicists, speakers and writers who had been mentioned by name were doing what they were doing 'openly and avowedly.' Whether they were 'preaching or publishing ill-will among His Majesty's subjects' or 'producing excitement or disquietude' or 'arousing dangerous fanaticism' or merely 'acting constantly to the inconvenience

of the King's Government,' and perhaps more particularly to the inconvenience of 'his officers' and possibly 'to the benefit of the king's enemies,' in any of these cases they were persons who were 'publicly making speeches and writing articles, and the only question was 'what they were doing, whether criminal offence or not,' was 'likely to be dangerous or prejudicial to the public safety or to excite the populace,' and according to Sir Reginald Craddock, 'you do not require Advisory Committees to tell you that.' As he had taken care to remind the Council, 'the wording of the Act itself is not that a man to be interned must necessarily be a criminal, or have committed a criminal offence, but that it should be believed that he has acted, is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the safety of the country.'"

The country could never be satisfied with such vague statements as the above, and therefore it demanded that the cases of all those people agitating for internal reforms within constitutional limits, should be reconsidered. In the meantime, innumerable meetings of protest were held, and with the names of Mrs. Besant and her co-adjutors, those of

Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali were also coupled. The agitation for the release of the five patriots was in full swing when the Secretary of State for India announced his intention of visiting India with regard to the reforms urgently needed in the country. In consonance with the announcement the Viceroy appealed to the Indian leaders to create a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu when he came. Encouraged by the conciliatory tone of Lord Chelmsford's speech, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah asked in the Legislative Council on the 5th September whether "in view of the proposed visit of Mr. Montagu and having regard to the feelings which have been aroused in the country by the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, do the Government of India propose to consider the question of their release?" The Hon. Sir William Vincent replied as follows —

> "The Government of India are prepared to recommend the Government of Madras to remove the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale under the Defence of India Rules, if the Government of India are satisfied that these persons will abstain from unconsti-

> tutional and violent methods during the remainder of the war."

He also added :—

> "The Government of India are prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions have been placed under these rules, merely by reason of their violent methods of political agitation."

This reply naturally enough turned the thoughts of Mr. Jinnah to the Ali Brothers, and he, therefore, asked, as a supplementary question, "whether they (the Government) proposed to take the case of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali into consideration." And to this the spokesman of the Government of India replied in the following encouraging terms :—

> "The Government are already considering the cases of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and are making inquiries in regard to them."

The period between the 5th and 26th September 1917 is very significant in the history of the Ali Brothers' internment. On the 7th September, however, Mr. Abdul Majid, Deputy Superintendent of Police, was sent as an emissary

from Simla to Chhindwara, and he showed to the Ali Brothers the form of an undertaking initialed by Sir Charles Cleveland, which as he informed them, the latter desired them to give. It ran as follows :—

Undertaking :—

"I shall abstain during the remainder of the war from doing, writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor. I shall also abstain from doing, writing or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor. I also promise to abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation which is likely to affect the public safety."

Explanation :—

"The abstentions promised above are not intended to cause me to refrain from participation in politics within constitutional limits."

(Sd.) C. R. C.

Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali replied to the Government in the following wordings instead of the above :—

Bism-i'-llah-i-r-Rahman-i-r-Rahim.

"We have always been God-fearing Muslims who accept above all else the commandments of God as conveyed to us in the Holy Quran and the life and sayings of our Prophet. Without prejudice to this faith we have always been law-abiding lovers of our country, opposed to all unconstitutional and violent methods, and, war or no war, this we always desire and hope to remain. Therefore we have no objection to give an assurance, if any is still needed, to the effect that without prejudice to our allegiance to Islam we shall abstain from doing, writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to encourage or assist the enemies of the King-Emperor, and from doing writing, or saying anything intended or reasonably likely to be construed as an attack upon the allies and friends of the King-Emperor, and that we shall also abstain from any violent or unconstitutional agitation likely to affect the public safety. We understand and base the above undertaking on the clear understanding that the abstentions promised above are not intended to restrict in the slightest measure our freedom to observe all our religious duties as Mussalmans or to cause us to refrain from

participation in politics within constitutional limits."

Two days after this event the Raja of Mahmudabad, probably at the request of the Government, went to Chhindwara to discuss the question of release with the Ali Brothers, and he went away quite satisfied with their attitude. But he was rather annoyed to find that a C. I. D. officer had preceded him.

Now every one naturally expected that the Chhindwara internees would be released along with Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. But this expectation was falsified in face of bare facts, as on the 12th September they were not set free.

Nothing important happened afterwards up to the 26th September, when Sir William Vincent replied to Mr. Jinnah in the following terms:—

> "Restrictions under the Defence of India Rules were imposed upon Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, not merely for violent methods of political agitation, but because they freely expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies thus endangering the public safety. The Government of India have made further enquiries regarding these

persons and on a careful consideration of the information and opinions received, and on a re-examination of previous papers, the Government of India are not satisfied that the attitude of these persons has materially changed in this respect, or that these restrictions can be safely removed."

Now God only knows when and where from these "previous papers" were obtained. Up till 5th September they were not mentioned at all, and this shows that these papers were procured somehow or other between the 5th and 26th September.

But fortunately this curt though brief reply of the well-informed Home Member has been made public for the first time the offence which the Ali Brothers are supposed to have committed. This is also vague, and its true significance cannot be comprehended by any one who has not been initiated into the mysteries of the Red Tape.

These "previous papers" are said to be the two letters written to the Amir of Afganistan and to the well-known Muslim divine of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. They are described as highly inflammatory and of a treasonable character. The first, it is alleged, was written

by Muhammad Ali in Persian, and the other by Shaukat Ali. "The moment they came to know of such letters they submitted to the censor, a telegram addressed to the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad, and Messrs Jinnah and Mazhar-ul-Haque, emphatically denying the authorship of all such letters and requesting Government through them to show the letters said to be in its possession. As nothing was heard in reply to this request, Mr. Muhammad Ali addressed a letter towards the end of October, 1917, to Sir James DuBoulay, who was personally known to him and had taken over charge of the Home Department as Member from Sir William Vincent. In this he again denied categorically on behalf of his brother as well his own the authorship of, and every other criminal connection with, any such letters and repeated the request that they might be shown to them." As is clear the request was not acceded to. And thus ends the tragedy of letters, mysterious as they are, which were forged to entrap the two esteemed leaders of the Muslim Community.

We, Muslims, can never, even for a moment, cherish this idea in our minds that the Ali Brothers were either constitutionally wrong or

violent in doing what they did for their community and country at large. The activities with which Muhammad Ali remained connected throughout his active public life, have been set forth in these pages, and they leave no room to doubt the honesty and integrity of his purpose. His elder brother, Shaukat Ali, was the founder of the "Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Keaba," which is, as admitted by Lord Hardinge in his letter to its President, Maulana Abdul Bari and in his official despatch to the Secretary of State for India at the outbreak of war, a religious association, and no sane person can ever think that even in all its political bearings, it was ever directed against the British Government, much less against their present allies. So we refuse to believe the belated charge laid at their docr after a lapse of 28 months.

Mrs. Besant's letter, sent to the Press immediately after her interview with the Viceroy in connection with the continued internment of the Ali Brothers, has solved, from the Government's point of view, the question of their guilt or innocence once for all. That they underwent untold sufferings in a remote prison was not because they were

seditious or violent or unconstitutional, but because in the Government view the war had come to such a pitch that their internment needed continuation. All this practically comes up to this that, even from the Government's point of view, the two brothers had done nothing to jeopardize the interests of the public or of the Government, and if the Government wanted to keep them in internment, it was because they thought that owing to the *debacle* of Russia, the passive sympathy of Muhammad Ali contained "a *possible* menace lest it should pass into active sympathy."

Now to put matters briefly, the Ali Brothers were perfectly innocent in *our* eyes, and had, somehow or other, fallen into the trap of the C. I. D. people, and became victims to the cruel working of the Defence of India Rules. Never before had any public grievance been so outraged as in this case, and never before had the whole of India been so unanimous in its demand as in the case of these Muslim leaders.

RELEASE AND RECEPTION.

On December 29th, 1919, at the open Congress at Amritsar, Pandit Gokar Nath Misra, amid thrilling scenes of joy, read the following message from the Ali brothers: "Mother well. Reaching Amritsar 29th morning. Pray God guide your counsels." The Royal Proclamation of December 25, evidently secured the release of these Leaders. In accordance with their message, Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali arrived at the Congress pandal shortly after 2 O'clock on the 30th, shook hands with the leaders, were garlanded and were accorded an ovation the like of which had scarcely been witnessed in India before. The Brothers were directly elected delegates at the proposal of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and they forthwith proceeded to take part in the deliberations of the Congress.

The Resolution which was then before the Congress was the one which demanded that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be asked to resign membership of the Esher Committee. Mr. Muhammad Ali's speech on this occasion shew-

whither his future activities were tending. He began with narrating the story of Haroun Al-Rashid, Amin and his tutor Abu Nawas. Haroun-al-Raschid of olden times appointed Aba Nawas to teach his son Amin to compose poetry. One day the master told his pupil, went on Mr. Muhammad Ali to narrate, that his poems were not in order. The result was that Amin ordered his master to be sent to jail. The King learnt this and rebuked his son for his unbecoming behaviour, Abu Nawas was set free and the next day he resumed his duties. Amin placed before his master his poetry and asked him his opinion of it. The master, after reading through the paper, got up and began to put on his shoe. Being asked, he told, continued Mr. Muhammad Ali in entertaining Urdu, that the poetry was as bad as before and his condemnation of it would mean re-imprisonment. Therefore, said the master, he was going to jail.

Such was, Mr. Muhammad Ali said, his own case. He had just come from imprisonment and he could not but condemn Government action and as a result, he was prepared, if need be, to go to jail. The volleys of fire, whether set forth at Jallianwallah or elsewhere, not only

penetrated the physical body, but affected the very soul within the body and its effect was sure to develop it to such an extent as to make India one of the greatest nations on the earth. He emphasised that the passing of resolutions, as they were printed on paper, could not achieve the desired effect until they resolved with true hearts to accomplish the ideals conveyed by them. It was, he added, for the people to resolve that they could bear tyranny no more. Internment, externment and imprisonment, and all other imaginable punishments, should be readily suffered to secure for the coming generations that freedom that was inborn with them. There should be a free India, and not an India of born slaves.

The speech, of course, made a deep impression on the Congress and the resolution was enthusiastically carried. At the same time, it created serious suspicions in the minds of the bureaucratic Government as to the real intentions of the Ali Brothers. Sir William Vincent, some time later, referred to the speech in the Indian Legislature and characterised it as a violent anti-Government pronouncement emanating, as they did, from persons who had but two days before been

released from jail under the Royal Proclamation of December 25th, 1919.

Since his release, Mr. Muhammad Ali actively interested himself in Congress politics. The Muslim League had already come under the influence of leaders of his way of thinking, and with the need for the further cementing of Hindu-Muslim Unity, it was felt necessary that Muslims also should take a more active part in the great national assembly. At no time in the history of Muslim India was the need for solid support from Indian public opinion as a whole to Muslim demands more necessary than then and Mr. Muhammad Ali knew that the best way of enlisting it was by seeking and gaining the support of the Congress. The Congress was ever ready to placate Indian Muslim sentiment and it only required on the part of Muslims themselves a responsive interest for espousing the Muslim cause. The liberty of none was at greater jeopardy at the time than that of pious Muslims. This fact is sufficient to explain Mr. Muhammad Ali's interest in the Congress apart from his being a patriot himself. It was, moreover, appropriate that he should have taken a prominent part in seeking to get a declaration of rights for India.

It is true that Mr. Muhammad Ali did not move the resolution on that subject—for, for lack of time, it was put from the chair,—but it is noteworthy that his name appeared on the agenda paper as the seconder.

It may be recorded here as showing that the Muslim League still retained at that time its conservative traditions that it expressed itself at its Amritsar session more favourably disposed towards Mr. Montagu's reforms than did the Congress. We may also note as throwing some light on the psychology of Mr. Muhammad Ali that he seconded Mr. Pal's amendment to the Reforms Resolution, namely: "This Congress, in the meanwhile, recommends that the provisions of the Reform Act be used as far as possible with a view to secure full self-government at an early date, and it desires to record its thanks to Mr. Montagu for his labours in connection with the reforms." This shows that, as with several other Congressmen, his faith in the constitutional methods had not then been entirely shaken.

That Mr. Muhammad Ali at once lept into public favour more than ever before and that he gained their confidence is certain. The numerous signal ovations accorded to him,

whenever he ascended the platform, apart from the more numerous telegrams of public congratulations received by him, show this. Above all, the fact that he was chosen as one, along with the select great Hindu leaders of the country such as Tilak, to represent India in England and to do propaganda work there on behalf of the Congress is eloquent, not merely of the confidence reposed in him, but also of his great abilities as a politician and propagandist. It is indeed a great tribute to his qualities as a master alike of the Press and of the platform as to his unique position as the accredited representative of Muslim India.

Perhaps it goes without saying that Mr. Muhammad Ali's hold on the Muslim League was unrivalled by that of any leader, past or present. When, at about 3-30 or 4 p. m. on December 30, at the Muslim League Pandal at Amritsar, Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Party entered, it is recorded that the audience at once stood up on their feet, and jumped with joy and began to cry out, "Allah-ho-Akbar, Allah-ho-Akbar." The shouts of "Allah-ho-Akbar" continued for several minutes and, it is reported, the audience after their arrival became more enthusiastic and animated. The enthusiasm at

the sight of the Brothers was so much that ordinary business on the agenda was suspended and the Brothers were asked by the President to address the assembly. Mr. Muhammad Ali rose to speak amidst loud cries of "Allah-ho-Akbar." He dwelt on the decadence of the Islamic peoples and asked them whether they would follow General Dyer, and his flagging and crawling orders, or God who was the King of Kings—an interrogation which the audience greeted with loud cries of, "We should follow Allah and nobody else." He then dwelt on the absolute supremacy of the Government of God whose subjects they first and foremost were. He expressed his readiness to sacrifice everything, his own mother, his children and his life for Allah and his religion. If his release meant anything, it meant that he was reaching nearer and nearer to his God and towards the fulfilment of the dreams of his life.

Mr. Muhammad Ali's pronouncement was received with loud and prolonged applause and continued cries of "Alla-ho-Akbar." To realise alike the patent sincerity of the man and the fact that he was speaking from the depths of his heart,it is enough to say that when Mr. Muham-

mad Ali was speaking, the audience was all weeping and sobbing.

The part played by Mr. Muhammad Ali at the national gatherings, was thus one which endeared him even more greatly to the country than his previous record of services, great as it was, had done. This public appreciation of the work of the Brothers found expression not only in the innumerable telegrams which Muslims all over the country, people of all shades of opinion, sent to the Viceroy thanking Government for the release of the Brothers, but also at a public meeting at Delhi held on January 8, 1920. At that meeting, it was resolved to present a purse to the Ali Brothers "as a token of the people's appreciation of their services." "It is impossible," so the resolution ran, "to compensate the loss which the people of this country in general, and the Muslims particularly, sustained by more than four years of internment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and we must try to compensate part of the financial loss which the Brothers had sustained owing to their forced removal from their sphere of activities." It was pointed out at the meeting that their loss amounted to several lakhs.

An All-India committee was formed to make the collections and it is significant of the popularity of the Brothers that among the members of the Committee were, besides such Muslim leaders as Mr. Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew, who were personal friends of the Brothers, such other leaders, Hindu as well as Muslim, as Swami Shraddhannad, Harkishen Lal, now Panjab Minister and Pandit Rambhouj Dutt Chaudhari of the Punjab, Messrs. Mumtaz Hussain and Pandit Motilal Nehru of the United Provinces, Messrs. Syed Muhammad Abdul Majid, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Khan and Sachidananda Sinha (now Executive Councillor) of Behar, Messrs. Fazlul Huq, C. R. Das and Motilal Ghosh of Bengal, Messrs. Jinnah, Umar Sobani, S. G. Banker, Seth Chotani and Haji Ahmed SiddiqKhatri of Bombay, Messrs. Kasturiranga Iyengar and Khuddus Badsha Sahib of Madras, Dr. Moonji of the Central Provinces and Messrs. Abdul Rauf and Dawood of Burma. The Secretaries were the well-known political workers, Messrs. Tajuddin and Lala Shanker Lal of Delhi. A considerable amount of collections was made which, it is noteworthy, the Brothers said they would devote to objects of public utility.

ORGANISATION OF KHILAFAT WORK

No sooner did Mr. Muhammed Ali leave Amritsar than he took upon himself, as he foreshadowed in his speeches in the national gatherings, the work of organising Khilafat agitation with the active help of his brother Shaukat Ali. About the second week of January 1920, he issued, along with his brother, a manifesto to the country in the course of which, after formally thanking the public for their expressions of sympathy and support, he outlined his future course of action. "We expect to hear from His Excellency the Viceroy in a day or two," wrote Mr. Muhammad Ali and his brother in that Manifesto, "when he would be pleased to receive the Khilafat conference Deputation and arrangements are in train for the deputation to proceed to England, Persia, America and Turkey through the kind assistance of His Excellency." "We trust," they said, "they will be enabled to start at the latest by the end of this month. Our case is so strong and based so firmly on the solid rock of religion and reason that we should have very little doubt of the success of our mission. No effort

will be spared to conciliate Europeans and Americans, and to convince them of the genuineness of our deepest concern for the Caliphate, the Jazarat-ul-urab, the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and of the extreme reasonableness of our demands in relation to these and of the solid mass of entire Islam at our back."

Such deputations are, however, costly affairs and the Brothers were not unconscious of this. "In the meantime," they continued in their manifesto, "ten lakhs of rupees have to be collected within the month for the deputation and generally for the work in hand. Much as we desire to meet our friends and fellow-workers all over the country, we must make it clear that the main purpose of our itenary is the accomplishment of the work we have taken in hand. A fat Khilafat purse to remit on our arrival to the All-India Khilafat Committe is the kind of welcome we ask for and expect, and we would beg our kind friends to waste no money on other manifestations of their generosity and joy at our release."

Mr. Muhammad Ali and his brother concluded their manifesto with an expression of grateful thanks to all those who took a

kindly interest in them, be they officials or non-officials. "Once more," wrote Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, "to one and all we offer our heartiest thanks, and we include among these every one, whether an official or a non-official, who in any way assisted us in securing our freedom. Once more, we shall, we hope, soon succeed in forgetting any discourtesy or unkindness that was at times shown to us by some of those charged with the duty of keeping us in custody, whether as ordinary detenues, interned under the Defence of India Act, or state prisoners confined in jail, but we feel certain we shall never forget the courtesy and consideration we received generally from English and Indian officials, and in particular from Dr. Quinn, the Superintendent of Betul jail who, alas ! passed away so suddenly and did not live to see us restored to freedom as he ardently desired."

"In conclusion," wrote Mr. Muhammad Ali, "we fervently pray that the Almighty God will make us deserve all this wealth of affection poured out so freely and especially the blessings of our sisters of the Panjab whose simple outpourings of joy has touched us more deeply

than anything in our lives. May we never secure salvation if we ever forget that soul-enthralling spectacle at Amritsar and Lahore of scores of thousands of Panjab mothers and sister and daughters offering us blessings than which a better offering neither a sovereign nor a saint could ask for or expect."

In accordance with the decision of the Moslem leaders referred to in the above manifesto, an influential and representative deputation of Hindus as well as Muslims, including Mr. Muhammad Ali, waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy on January 1920. An address was presented to Lord Chelmsford, setting forth the demands of Muslim India, not only, but of the Indian public as a whole in regard to the Khilafat question. It is noteworthy that the signatories to this address included not only wellknown Muslim leaders, but also such Hindu leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Rambhouj Dutt Chowdari. It may be added that the signatories included Indian Muslim gentlemen of all shades of opinion such as, besides the Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Jinnah, the Rajah of

Mahmudabad, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, etc. The deputation pointed out that, though the war was over, peace was still distant and doubtful. They urged the Imperial authorities not to underrate the worth and value of Islamic friendship and Indian loyalty. A settlement not acceptable to Muslims and non-Muslims would bring no peace, because, the deputation said, it would bring no sence of justice and contentment. "No Mussalman," they said, "who hopes and prays for salvation would henceforward know any rest and could only aspire to salvation by following the dictates of Islam, however painful might be the subsequences." "It is due to the Peace Conference that is now sitting, to ourselves and to the Empire to which we desire to remain loyal," continued the address, "to state in explicit language, the minimum that will satisfy Muslim sentiments. Arabia as delimited by Muslim authorities and the holy places of Islam must remain under the control of the Khalifa, full guarantees being taken consistently with the dignity of a Sovereign State for genuine Arabic self-government should the Arabs desire it."

"We claim," the Deputation went on to state

significantly, "that the Imperial Government is as much a trustee for Muslim and Indian interests as for the Christian. It is therefore not enough that our sentiments and wishes are placed before the League, but it is essential that British Ministers make our case their own." "Islam," stated the address, "has ever associated temporal power with the Khilafat. We therefore consider that to make the Sultan a mere puppet would add insult to injury and would only be understood by Indian Muslims as an affront given to them by a combination of Christian powers. Whilst, therefore, we must insist upon the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George on 5th January 1918 being fulfilled, in order to show that we desire no more than the strictest justice, we concede the right of the Allied Powers to ask for such guarantees as may be considered necessary for the full protection of non-Muslim races living under the Sultan."

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the Deputation stated that steps had been taken by him to ensure that Muslim opinion was fully placed before the Peace Conference. The war, however, was not a war between Turkey and Britain only, but other

great powers also were involved. The future of Turkey was to be decided by the representatives of all the powers. In regard to their desire to send a deputation to Europe to lay their views before the British Cabinet and, if possible, before the Peace Conference, His Excellency said he would do all he could to assist them in their mission and to represent the views of Muslim India at Paris. In conclusion, he expressed his confidence that whatever the decision of the Allied Powers in regard to Turkey, the Muhammadans of India would remain staunch in their allegiance and loyalty, which they owed to His Majesty the King Emperor. "I offer you my sympathy and my help in the trouble that has brought you here to day", he said, and added, "I claim your aid and co-operation in the great task which now calls for our Indian energies."

The result of the deputation was thus not fully stisfactory. Perhaps, it must be said that it was as satisfactory as was possible in the circumstances. The Viceroy is after all not an authority that could arrive at a settlement of this great question and the best he could do was to put Indian Muslim opinion in direct touch with those who influenced the decisions of

the Peace Conference, and this, it must be said, Lord Chelmsford accomplished to the best of his ability.

The endeavour of the Ali Brothers did not stop with organising the deputation to Europe. Their aim was to bring all Islamic countries together by opening up communications with such countries by means of sending Indian Muslim deputations to them. Thus, they made plans to send deputations to the Hedjaz, Nejd, Yemen, Smyrna, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia and other countries, but their efforts proved a failure because Government refused to issue passports to the missions and facilitate their work. They felt that if the organised, unanimous Muslim opinion of all these places could be effectively focussed at the Peace Conference, Europe could not, without courting serious danger, refuse to concede the legitimate claims of Turkey.

Meanwhile, Mr. Muhammad Ali and his brother did not ignore organising work in India itself. Long before his release, it is true Khilafat organisations had sprung up here and there, but the vigorous agitation in regard to the Khilafat which we now associate with the question was certainly due in a

large measure to the Ali Brothers. No sooner were they released than they put themselves in touch with the Central Khilafat Committee. They soon got control of this organisation and did not long delay revising its constitution and rules and placing it on a strong, effective and vigorously functioning basis. They revised the objects of the Central Khilafat Committee to be "to secure fair terms for Turkey *through approaching British Ministers.*" This definition and scope of the Committee's work is significant as showing the great faith which the Brothers still had in constitutional agitation and in the British ministry.

KHILAFAT WORK IN ENGLAND.

Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali arrived in Bombay on January 29 by the Panjab mail up to Kalyan and by special train from Kalyan. The enthusiastic reception which awaited their arrival at the place was, it may be said without the slightest exaggeration, simply princely. Long before the Panjab mail arrived by which the Brothers were expected, large crowds had collected at the Victoria Terminus RailwayStation. On arrival, the Brothers were received by the prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders and were profusely garlanded. A very long procession with a large train of motor cars and other vehicles, followed by a long line of pedestrians, was formed and in this procession, the Brothers were taken to their destination. After three hours triumphant march, in the course of which they were garlanded and received with other honours at several places *en*

route, the procession dispersed on the Brothers reaching their destination. The Muslim quarters especially, such as Pydhonie, presented a specially gala day appearance and many Muslim ladies gave up purdah to have a look at the great Muslim leaders. In the evening the day following their arrival, the Brothers were presented with addresses of welcome and appreciation on behalf of the Central Khilafat Committee, the Home Rule League and other public bodies. Mass meetings were also held to congratulate them and to eulogise their services. At one such meeting, the great Hindu leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak presided, and Mr. Joseph Baptista, the Jewish Barrister and Labour Leader, addressed the meeting on the services rendered by the brothers in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The enthusiasm shown on the release of the brothers and their reappearance in public life was in short incalculable. Mr. Muhammad Ali did not long stay at Bombay enjoying her hospitality. The third day on his arrival in Bombay, he, along with Maulana Syed Suleiman Nudwi and Mr. Syed Hussain, sailed for England on the 1st of February, 1920.

Mr. Muhammad Ali reached England early in

March 1920. The atmosphere that the Indian Khilafat Delegation of which he was the head, met with in England was not exactly of a congenial nature. It was highly prejudiced against the Turks. But Mr. Muhammad Ali was not the man to be easily discouraged. He threw his heart and soul into the work. On landing, he went straight to the Parliament to witness the historic debate that was then going on regarding the future of Constantinople. There was a strong volume of influential opinion in England that the Turks should be driven out bag and baggage from Constantinople and that their sovereignty must not extend to any territory in Europe.

The position was well indicated in Mr. Muhammad Ali's cable to Mr. Chotani, the President of the Central Khilafat Committee, which Mr. Muhammad Ali sent on March 7th. "The moment most critical," ran the cable, "Expect early interview with Cabinet; went strait to Parliament on arrival, accommodated on distinguished Strangers' Gallery during Debate. Working with Ameer Ali—Muhammad Ali." This cablegram at once indicated the seriousness of the situation in Europe as regards Turkish question as well as Muhammad Ali's

eagerness to tackle it vigorously and without any delay.

Not long after Mr. Muhammad Ali reached England, he arranged for a deputation of the delegation to wait on the Secretary of State for India. According to these arrangements, on March 2, Mr. Fisher, the Education Minister, received him cordially on behalf of the Secretary of State. Mr. Muhammad Ali made an admirable statement of Khilafatists' just aims and demands before Mr. Fisher couched in dignified but none the less forcible language. Mr. Muhammad Ali disavowed anything in the nature of threat, but pointed out that the Muslim world could not remain quiescent at the break up of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat with which had been for long years and not unnaturally associated the glory of Islam. Mr. Fisher was so much impressed with the statement of the case before him that he congragulated the deputation on its moderate tone and on the clearness with which it presented its case. He also stated that he would soon arrange for an interview with the Premier and thereafter with the Supreme Council of the Allies.

The state of things in England at this time was disturbed by the vigorous and most effective though exceedingly costly propaganda which was then being conducted on behalf of the Armenians. It was urged that the Turks were guilty of inhuman barbarities. It was alleged that Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Turkish Nationalist leader, committed brutal atrocities in Armenia by massacring in cold blood thousands of Armenians. Mr. Muhammad Ali was moreover confronted with the fact that propaganda in in favour of Armenians was being conducted under the auspices of the League of Nations. Indeed, as was pointed out in "India" at the time, the name of His Majesty was, however indirectly, associated with the propaganda. This sort of war against the Turks and their methods was carried on in British cinemas and theatres and was having a deadly effect on British public opinion which was thereby completely alienated from the Turks. Mr. Muhammad Ali, however, did all he could to condemn this propaganda. He stated that Indian Muslims would not tolerate crimes against humanity, be their authors Turks, or any other races, but they could not take it for granted that the allegations of heartless massacre at-

tributed to Mustapha Kemal Pasha could not be accepted by him or by the Muslim world or indeed by impartial men before a searching and non-prejudiced enquiry had been held by an authority of unimpeachable reputation and the guilt of the Turks had by that means been established.

Apart from countering the Armenian propaganda, Mr. Muhammad Ali, while in Britain, interviewed the leaders of all parties and endeavoured to gain a hearing for Indian Muslim views. Thus, on the 10th of March he saw Mr. Asquith, that great Liberal leader and ex-Premier, and had an interview with him lasting for over an hour and a half. Mr. Asquith is well known as a Gladstonian Liberal, and by his Party tradition and the traditions of his great master he belonged to the bag and baggage school. Whether Mr. Muhammad Ali succeeded in convincing Mr. Asquith of the reasonableness of his demands or not, there is no doubt, he was able to remove a good deal of misconception that was entertained by the Liberal leader as regards Turkish aims and methods. In the main endeavour, however, Mr. Muhammad Ali failed; for, Mr. Asquith

in the subsequent debate in the House referred to the Delegation's demands as impossible. Later, Mr. Muhammad Ali had an opportunity of meeting the Liberal Party as a whole and laying his case before them. Mr. Muhammad Ali similarly tackled the Labour Party as well. This comparatively non-prejudiced Party of Britain is, as is well-known, advanced in its opinions and was not committed to any confirmed policy of antagonism towards the Turks. With the aid of Mr. George Lansbury and others, Mr. Muhammad Ali was able to arrange for some public meetings under the auspices of the Labour Party at which he was able to explain clearly and well the Muslim view of the case before the British public. Meetings were arranged by these for him. Meetings held at such well-known places as the Albert Hall and the Kingsway Hall were addressed by him and his colleagues and thus the British Labour Party was in a large measure disabused of the idea that the Turks were barbarous butchers pure and simple and that there was a great deal to be said in favour of the Indian Muslim demands.

On March 17, Mr. Muhammad Ali was received in Deputation by Mr. Lloyd George.

His survey of the position of the whole Muslim point of view in regard to the Turkish question was a master-piece of eloquent exposition of the Khilafat cause. He traced the whole history of the question and made pointed references to the Premier's pledge and the religious obligations of Muslims. Mr. Lloyd George was, of course, against the Turks and he tried his best to put the Delegation in an awkward position. Thus, he asked whether Mr. Muhammad Ali was opposed to Arab independence and invited him to explain whether he suggested that the Arabs should be conquered for Turkey by the force of British arms. Mr. Muhammad Ali was quite equal to these searching questions. He said that he was not opposed to Arab self-government, although he could not agree that the Arabs should be given complete independence. He did not, however, rule out a satisfactory arrangement for Arab autonomy. He made pointed references to India and said that having known what the position of subject races was he would certainly not deny autonomy to the Arabs, Jews and Christians within the Turkish Empire. With regard to the Premier's enquiry whether he suggested that Britain

should conquer and hand over the Arabs to Turkish subjection, Mr. Muhammad Ali said if Britain only adopted a policy of "hands off" towards Arabia and Turkey, then he did not despair of bringing about a satisfactory Turko—Arabic settlement. Mr. Lloyd George did not stop with these questions. He also asked Mr. Muhammad Ali whether the Turks were not guilty of inhuman excesses in Armenia over its non-Turkish subjects and whether, such being the case, the Turks could be trusted with rule over the non-Turkish races. Mr. Muhammad Ali replied that if the Turks were really guilty of the horrible crimes attributed to them, then, they would wash their hands off Turkey. "To us," he said, "it is much more important that not a single stain should remain on the fair name of Islam." This statement is significant as showing that Mr. Muhammad Ali did not want Turkey to thrive by injustice.

Although the Labour Party did not commit itself to any decided course, some of its leaders were helpful to Mr. Muhammad Ali and arranged some meetings. Mr. Muhammad Ali, in short, was not, however, able to accomplish any very satisfactory results in England.

The British Press, capitalistic as it was, was interested more in sports and sensational stories than in securing satisfaction to their Indian fellow subjects in Asia. The papers did not bestow any great attention to the Khilafat question; and when it made any mention of it, it was more often than not to oppose its claims. Apart from making one or two announcements, it practically ignored the Delegation's activities and did not spare even a few lines, except on rare occasions, for news relating to the Delegation. Mr. Muhammad Ali was, however, undaunted in his efforts and, with an optimism characteristic of him, he helped in starting "The Muslim Outlook" followed by "Echo de Islam" in Paris, "which had the dual object of keeping India in touch with the opinions of foreign nations on the great question and of supplying information to the foreign press on the views of Muslim India on the Khilafat and other questions. The "Muslim Outlook" has had a checkered career since then and, owing to the bureaucratic bans placed on its importation into India from time to time, it has been compelled to metamorphose itself, first into "Islamic News" and, then, into the "Muslim Standard." Owing to these activities of Mr.

Muhammad Ali, one good thing was, however, achieved. English opinion was made to see the folly of accepting the Mesopotamian mandate owing to the extroardinary expenditure it was seen to involve apart from other considerations.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh thus summarises the work of the Deputation in Britain in a special cable which he sent to the "Hindu" dated March 26, 1920: "Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Syed Hussain tell me, that besides interviewing the Premier and the India Office, they have seen Mr. Asquith, important Labour Party officials, several members of Parliament and journalists. The Deputation finds British Leaders ignorant of even the fundamental Islamic requirements and of Indian Muslim and national sentiments regarding the Khilafat. The interview gave them the impression that their minds were already made up. But the LabourParty officials acknowledged the new light thrown upon the intricate problems not understood before and asked time for consideration, being convinced they would have to change many of their pre-conceived notions. The press are generally indifferent, in many cases hostile, prominence being given to partial,

often inaccurate, reports of the Delegation's statement, while the Deputation's views are more or less ignored."

Seeing the difficulty of influencing British opinion, the Indian Khilafat Delegation sought to approach the Peace Conference that was then sitting at SanRemo. The "Bombay Chronicle," in a special cable on April27th, thus summarised the activities of the Delegation in England and Paris in securing a hearing before the Peace Conference. "The Delegation first approached," stated that cable, "theBritish Premier requesting him to arrange that the Delegation may be received by the Supreme Council sitting at San Remo to consider the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty before its work is over, so that the Delegation may lay before the Supreme Council a full and clear statement of the position in India and in the East in view of the grave situation developing there into a menace. The Delegation was informed in reply that the Peace Conference could not hear any one except the accredited Government representatives of the territories and that an Indian Official Delegation had been already heard. Further representation to the British Premier soliciting reconsideration of the aforesaid decision

pointed out that the Turkish settlement, involving, as it did, the question of Khilafat in which the whole Muslim world was interested transcended all territorial limitations. In reply the British Secretary wired from San Remo under date 20th April that the decision could not be reconsidered and the Indian Khilafat Delegation could not be given an opportunity of expressing their views before the Supreme Council and that further as the main questions relating to peace withTurkey had been decided upon,the Premier did not think that any useful purpose would be served by a fresh hearing of the Delegation's views. The Khilafat Delegation thereupon telegraphed to the Supreme Council'sPresident, the Premiers of England, France, and Italy and the Japanese Ambassador at San Remo on the 24th April regretting the Council's decision not to give a hearing to it. The Delegation pointed out that the Premier of Greece which was not at war with Turkey and which later had occupied Turkey's territories under Allied auspices had been allowed to particitate in the proceedings, whilst the representatives of India and Muslim faith had been ignored. The Delegation also warned the Peace Conference

that it would be futile to expect peace and tranquillity if Indian sentiments were disregarded and it would be its responsibility for reopening the chapter of international discord which would not exist if the Peace Conference followed President Wilson's 14 Points in the letter and the spirit instead of merely achieving the distribution of the spoils of war. The Delegation also emphatically protested against the occupation of Constantinople by British Military and Naval Forces in the name of the Allies, thus placing the Khalifa in duress and also against the arrest and deportation of the Sheik-ul-Islam as an outrage upon Islam. The Delegation also pointed out that in India the Government and the people were not identical and that there was no Indian Muslim on the Indian Official Delegation."

The Delegation made a final appeal for a hearing in view of the situation in India which was becoming acute. The Conference in spite of these requests refused to hear it although it heard many Delegations representing at best microscopic populations inhabiting meagre areas. Thus, in the case of the Indian Delegation alone a discrimi-

nation was made exposing Europe's sense of justice when the vital interests of Asiatic nations were concerned.

Mr. MUHAMMAD ALI IN FRANCE.

Despairing of success in England, Mr. Muhammad Ali had already visited Paris more than once. After the announcement of the Turkish Peace Treaty on May 20th 1920 which made a puppet of the Sultan even at Constantinople and deprived him not only of Mesopotamia, Palestine and other places in Asia Minor, but also of Thrace and Smryna, his visits to Paris became more frequent. Through the influence of Monsieur Longuet and his paper and the help of other friends, Mr. Muhammad Ali was able to influence French public opinion considerably. From the first he discovered that France and Italy kept an open mind on the Turkish question. These two countries were distinctly against forcing Turkey to agree to the cruel terms announced on May 20th. On April 22nd, Mr. Chotani, President of the Central Khilafat Committee, received the following cablegram from Mr. Mahammad Ali regarding the Deputation's work in France. The message stated, among other things: "Held a most successful and large meeting of selec Parisians on the 20th. Deputy Ju les Rosche,

former Finance Minister and a great economist, presiding, said India played a great part in civilizing the world which owed her a deep debt to be repaid by securing her liberty of conscience. Bluyson, Deputy from French India, made a great speech explaining the Islamic brotherhood and Indian spirituality, testifying to the strong Muslim and Indian feeling and pledging his full support in Parliamentary and Government circles. Henri Pathe, Paris Deputy, recalling the splendid services of brave Indian soldiers who never bargained their blood, said, ' The heart of France is still bleeding but still young. None vainly appealed to France. After what India did for her, France will do all she can for India.' Melia, formerly Chief Secretary, Algerian Government, said, 'France was friendly to the Turkish nation even during the war as she was still friendly in gratefulness to Algerian Muslims who shared the Indian Delegation's sentiments.' Le Cocouverre, advocate, interpreted Syed's speeches stating the claims and giving details of the Indian and Eastern situation. Many press representatives, ladies, Indian, Turkish Chinese and Russian Muslims were among the audience. Admission was by tickets only. The

General Officer Commanding Paris specially sent a Staff Officer as a representative who cordially thanked the Delegation after speaking for Indian Soldiers' courageous assistance in the hour of France's sorest trial. The meeting resolved unanimously: 'We convey to the Delegation for transmission to their brothers in India the testimony of our profound friendship of and unalterable respect for their religious beliefs.' The Delegation called on the great author Claude Farrere, who, like Pierre Loti, is a strong advocate of the Islamic cause, and, with profound emotion and impressive earnestness, gave a message forIndia pledging life-long support. Success in all French circles is assured. The situation is more hopeful.—Muhammad Ali."

As indicated above, the work of the Khilafat Delegation from the first began to succeed remarkably well in France. The Delegation before the second week of April were able to place the Muslim view before 30 Deputies and had interviews with high officials They were able to influence the press as well. M. Longuet's popular newspaper published leading articles and a long interview with Mr.

Muhammad Ali on the subject. Meetings were also held at which prominent French men spoke. Such a meeting was held at Paris on the 20th April at which several French leaders spoke expressing sympathy with the Muslim point of view. Another was held on June 10th at Paris which, on the invitation of the Committee of the National d'Etudes, Mr. Muhammad Ali addressed. At the beginning of July, the Committee of La France et Islam organised in Salle Wagram, the biggest hall in Paris, an over-crowded meeting in honour of the Indian Khilafat Delegation, presided over by M. De Menzie, formerly Minister of Mercantile Marine.

By these means and by founding the *Echo de Islam* as well as the *Muslim Outlook,* the Delegation was able to effect a distinct change in European opinion regarding Turkey although as yet it was not able to force the respective European Governments effectively to change their attitude. Thus, M. Miller and, the French Premier, in an interview with Mr. Muhammad Ali on August 12, 1920, stated that the Sevres Treaty was not final. But though this opinion was confirmed by the Greeks' hopeless failure to show his capacity to digest

his ill-gotten gains, M. Millerand himself was able to do little to force Greece to recognise her folly. Moreover, in securing British assent to his German policy, he had perhaps to yield to the British view of the Near East Settlement.

Thus, what with log-rolling and Governmental bungling, the Delegation was able to achieve little that was effective. However, through the meetings of different parties organised by or for the Delegation, particularly through numerous visits paid to important and influential personages, a distinct change of opinion was brought about in the Press and Parliament in France. France was made to realise the effect of an anti-Turkish policy which might possibly be disastrous on the French Colonies in Africa and elsewhere and on the Muslim world generally. One noteworthy result of the Delegation's work in France is that complete revision of the Sevres Treaty was urged even by the Venezelist *Matin*.

The sympathy of the Pope was also obtained. In August 1920, Mr. Muhammad Ali had an interview with His Holiness the Pope in Italy and it may be taken that what His Holiness stated represents the view of Italy and of the Catholic world generally. The *Muslim Outlook*,

London, thus wrote on the interview: "We are informed that Mr. Muhammad Ali, head of the Indian Khilafat Delegation, and Mr. Hayat, Secretary, who have just returned from Rome, were accorded a private audience by His Holiness the Pope and were received with marked cordiality. During the interview, His Holiness readily *recognised the religious tolerance shown by the Ottoman Turks and their Government*, and said that the Apostolic Delegate at Constantionple had borne testimony to this in his reports. Apropos of the project of the treaty with Turkey, His Holiness regretted that treaties which had recently been signed, although they perhaps marked the cessation of hostilities, had not brought peace to the world. He hoped that the objects which Mussalmans sought to achieve and which the Indian Khilafat Delegation had been charged to explain to the peoples and Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers would be secured peacefully. But His Holiness recognised that if hostilities were to continue, it would not be because Mussalmans desired to war against Christians, and on his own part, His Holiness assured Mr. Muhammad Ali that the Catholic world desired peace with the

Islamic world. His Holiness very kindly authorised Mr. Muhammad Ali to convey to the Indian people and the Muslim world an assurance of his cordial sympathy with the Delegation's mission of peace and reconciliation, while defending the Muslim faith and the Khilafat, and wished them as much success elsewhere as they had at the Vatican. His Holiness added that it had not been necessary to convert him as he had already been in sympathy with them."

Having exploited every source of influence, official as well as non-official, the Press as well as the platform, France and Italy as well as Britain, Mr. Muhammad Ali, however, found out that it was useless to rely on the good offices of European nations to secure the salvation of Muslim requirements. He expressed this conclusion of his to the country in a message to India which he sent to India through Mr. Patel which was published in the Press on August 23. "The Indian Khilafat Delegation," ran the message, "ever since they arrived in Europe, have loyally and strictly carried out the mandate with which they were charged. We based ourselves on the manifesto which had been adopted by the All-India

Khilafat Conference, and in accordance with it, we represented to the British, French, and Italian Governments and the representatives of the Government of Japan the exact position of the Mussalmans and Indians in regard to the Turkish settlement and the future of the Khilafat." "We also made clear our aims," the message added, "to the British, the French, and the Italian peoples from platforms and in the press. We think we may claim that no educated person in these countries, interested in public affairs, much less in Government, has any excuse now for not knowing what India feels on the Turkish question and why." "Our representations," continued Mr. Muhammad Ali, "have however yielded no tangible results in the desired direction as far as the collective action of the Allies is concerned, and, in particular, the British Government have not yielded to the Muslim and Indian representations on a single article of concession as the Turkish Treaty about to be signed bears witness." "The Delegation" concluded Mr. Muhammad Ali, "have exerted themselves to discharge the duty with which they were entrusted to the best of their ability. They have carried out their mission, but have failed to move the

Allies from their set purpose. It now rests with our people to initiate such further action as may be called for, and may to them appear advisable, and the Delegation would faithfully carry out their commands."

THE NON-CO-OPERATION CAMPAIGN.

Disappointed with the results of his Mission, Mr. Muhammad Ali booked his passage for India early in August, 1920.

Mr. Muhammad Ali landed in Bombay at 10 a. m. on October 4, 1920. In the evening of that day he addressed a large audience on his work in Europe and the results thereof. He said that after a careful survey of the present situation he had come to the definite conclusion that the freedom of India was absolutely necessary for the freedom of Islam. Indian slaves were employed to usurp the liberty of other nations and to enslave them. His message to Indian Mussalmans therefore was that if they wanted to secure the freedom of Islam, they should join their Hindu brethren and work unitedly for the freedom of India from slavery. He told the Hindus that if they wanted independence they should work with their Muslim brethren and neighbours.

That he did not despair of Hindu-Muslim unity achieving Swarj as well as the righting of the Khilafat wrong was evident long before he left England. On the eve of his departure

to England, he said to a representative of the "New Times": "We are going to explain all this—facts regarding the Khilafat—to Europe and America, and after entreating everybody concerned not to ignore our most solemn obligations, we shall be compelled, if necesary, to declare the consequences of such deliberate neglect of our representations in the matter of our faith would be most serious. And this time at least, the question will not be one in which 7 crores of Indian Muslims are concerned, but 30 crores of Indians and another 30 crores of Muslims abroad." "Speaking from a merely material point of view," he continued, "I do not think there is any region of God's earth, valuable in pastures, in agricultural land, in natural and mineral wealth which any European Power could profit by, by obtaining it at the tremendous price of an open declaration of war against half of humanity." "We may be weak to-day," added Mr. Muhammad Ali, "but the whirling of time has many surprises for those puny opportunists who can think only in terms of minutes and hours and who forget that, to the lord of all ages, centuries are but fleeting moments."

The question was straightway put to him as to what he would do if he failed in his mission. "Do not be uneasy on that score, pray," replied Mr. Muhammad Ali. "The very nature of our mission precludes the possibility of failure. We knew the difficulties in the way of proclaiming the truth in civilised Europe in spite of its boast of free speech and free Press. But if we can get the ear of the nations, our work ends. If they do not heed to what we say, that will not be our failure, but theirs. And, speaking for myself, at least I think that my salvation is assured when I have carried this message to Europe. And part of my message to them is that we have behind us no less than 30 crores of people in this country. Then, it will not be our work, but our people's to see that this declaration is not belied by any faltering on their part."

Mr. Muhammad Ali's confidence in the country was not in the least misplaced. Neither the Congress nor the Muslim leaders went to sleep after despatching the Delegation to Europe. The occupation of Constantinople by the British forces on behalf of the Allies on March 16 of 1920, the subsequent trend of European opinion against the Turks, and the

culmination of European indifference to Indian Muslim opinion in the peace terms puplished on May 20 had made the country prepare for a determined struggle to get its wrongs righted. The failure of Government to do justice both in connection with the Punjab wrongs and the Turkish peace terms necessitated the meeting of the nation in council and the All-India Congress Committee met at Benares not long after the announcement of the Turkish Peace Terms and decided upon summoning a special session of the Congress to meet at Calcutta in September.

Meanwhile, realising the great national crisis in which the country was placed, Congress and the Muslim League leaders did not wish to precipitate a serious break of the country with the Government without summoning a Conference of leaders of all shades of opinion and not merely Congressmen. In answer to their summons, national leaders of all shades of political opinion, the Right and the Left wing of Congressmen, such as Mr. Malaviya and Mr. Gandhi, Moderate leaders such as Dr. Sapru and Mr. Chintamani, the mid-way betweens such as Mrs. Besant and Muslim leaders corresponding to all shades of

this political opinion met at Allahabad on June 2. At this historic meeting, Dr. Sapru and Mrs. Besant notably, made long and strong speeches counselling the dropping of the Non-co-operation Programme and Civil Disobedience, but since they had no alternative methods of enforcing national will and maintaining national honour, the majority solidly voted in favour of Non-co-operation in all its stages to be put in force progressively as Mr. Gandhi might arrange. In accordance with this decision, and, to execute it the Conference appointed a Non-co-operation Committee consisting of Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Muhammad Ali, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Khatri, Moulana Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Kitchlew.

On the 22nd of June 1920 in accordance with this decision, Mahatma Gandhi and the Muslim leaders sent their now famous manifesto to the country in the shape of a letter to the Viceroy reciting the demands of the Muslims and calling on His Excellency to resign his office and head the agitation if the Ministers in England refused to press his views before the Peace Conference. About the same time, Mr. Gandhi sent the following cablegram to Mr. Muhammad Ali in London, summarising the

action that had been taken: "Respectful but firm Muslim representation influentially signed announcing resort to Non-co-operation from the 1st August 1921 if Minister's peace terms be not revised or if the Viceroy does not head Khilafat agitation now in His Excellency's hands. I have sent my own separate representation explaining my connection with the movement and associating myself entirely with it. In my opinion the vast majority of Muslims, Hindus masses are behind this great and just agitation for respect of Muslim religious sentiments and for ensuring fulfilment of Ministerial pledges. You may be sure of everything possible being done on this side. I have no doubt that in this great cause God will help us if we will help ourselves."

The appeal to the Viceroy met with no sympathetic response from that dignitary and the national leaders faithful to their expressed determination-they were careful to point out that it was no threat to Government launched their Non-co-operation campaign on the 1st August. Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Saraladevi Chaudharani gave up their Kaiser-i-Hind medals while earlier Hakim Ajmal Khan had resigned his title of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. The cam-

paign began with the giving up of titles, honorary offices and official decorations and slow as was necessarily the case with the title-holders to give up their, in many cases, hard earned and for many years eagerly sought titles, the response was not altogether discouraging. The leaders however concentrated their attention on the boycott of elections to the new reformed councils in the first instance as elections were then to commence and in this boycott, they were, as acknowledged even by the most prejudiced of co-operators and bureacucrats, successful in a very large measure. They were able to see in most provinces that the percentage of voters who went of the polls was a ludicrously small one, while the seats in the councils were contested for, not by public men in popular favour in many cases, but mostly by unknown non-entities who, if the leaders had offered themselves for election, would not have even dared to come forward as candidates.

When, therefore, Mr. Muhammad Ali returned from his Mission to Europe he found the ground for Non-co-operation well prepared. The movement was, indeed, in full swing. The Special Congress at Calcutta had also decided in favour of the measure for which decision Mr.

Shaukat Ali and his brave band of Khilafat workers-delegates to the Congress, pledged to support, Mahatma Gandhi, were not a little responsible. The boycott of the Councils had been complete almost and the leaders, he found, were proceeding to the next item in the Programme—the boycott of schools and the boycott of Courts. In this campaign, especially in securing the boycott of schools, Mr. Muhammad Ali threw his heart and soul. He concentrated himself to secure the disaffiliation of the Aligarh College from Government-established and controlled Universities, to cement the Hindu-Muslim unity, and to help Mahatma Gandhi generally in the great national campaign of Non-co-operation carried on under his leadership.

Mr. Muhammad Ali returned in the beginning of October 1920. It is an eloquent tribute to his influence over the Aligarh students that by a mere appeal to the students by him and Mahatma Gandhi they came out of their Colleges *enbloc* on the 13th October. The event created a profound sensation throughout India and in England and the emptying of the Aligarh College by the students was soon followed by similar action by the students of Lahore and

Calcutta. The progress of the Movement in Aligarh was thus summarised in November 1920: by one in touch with Mr. Muhammad Ali "Since the 13th ultimo, when the M. A. O. College emptied itself in answer to an appeal by Mahatma Gandhi and Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. The trustees as well as the Principal wrote to the parents and brought other means of pressure to bear upon the students as a result of which some students returned. The College and the school was closed for a month. The Trustees met on the 27th October, heard Mr. Muhammad Ali on the question of nationalisation, but voted against Non-co-operation. We shall not refer to the complaints of irregnlarities in the meeting of the trustees raised by Mr. Muhammad Ali, how co-operator trustees alone were invited and so forth, suffice it to point out that Mr. Muhammad Ali was, in consequence of an order served by the District Magistrate Campbell, I. C. S., and since Civil Disobedience had not been decided upon, retired non-violently with his student followers to a neighbouring building. Along with Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Mulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Mr. Mubammad Ali announced on October 22nd that a com-

pletley independent Muslim University would be established at Aligarh on the 29th with Mr. Muhammmad Ali as Principal "if Dr. Ziauddin does not cease co-operation with the Government and accept his office in the new University." Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the well-known Muslim divine, was appointed to supervise the religious education and life in the University. As announced, on the 29th of October, the Muslim National University was inaugurated by the greatest of living Muslim divines at the time—whose subsequent death Muslim India deplores—Moulana Muhammad Hussian, the sage of Deoband.

In his now famous letter addressed to the Rajah of Mahmudabad, in reply to the latter's invitation to attend the inauguration of the Government-controlled Muslim University at Aligarh which, by the way, did not concede at least two important points which related to the rejection by the Muslims of the Government's offer of an statutory Muslim University in 1913, Mr. Muhammad Ali thus refers to his University: "Through the guidance of God, I am still true to my dreams and look forward with his assistance to the achievement of a truly great and glorious under-

taking even though we have nothing more to count upon today than 175 honest Muslim youths, (some of whom sent adrift by their parents because they would follow God and not Government), housed in a number of over-crowded bungalows and tents instead of your palatial hostels and cannot even in the near future hope to lift up to Heaven our earnest devotions five times a day from a more gorgeous House of God than a temporary construction of thatch and mud instead of your very ornate mosque. I may perhaps not realise my long-cherished dream in the flesh as easily as you seem to think you have realised yours and it may even be that in spite of my firm resolve to persist in this arduous enterprise, the call of my creed and country may possibly compel me at some later date to postpone the pursuit of the educational ideal that has not only been mine, but also used to be yours and the final goal may not come in my own life time. But I have not the faintest doubt that success is destined to be ours and it is in that belief that even to-day I invite you as your sincere and affectionate friend, to reject the base alloy and accept the purest gold." In short, Mr. Muhammad Ali's ideal of a Muslim

University seems to be some such body as the El Asbar of Egypt where the University being a religious organisation has perfect freedom to develop secular studies as well as religious studies unfettered by "the policy" of Government in offering education.

In accordance with the forecast in the above letter, Mr. Muhammad Ali abandoned the scholarly seclusion of the University for the troubled waters of politics. Already as Principal, experience had proved the necessity for this. Towards the end of December, he left Aligarh for Nagpur along with some 50 of his students to take part in the national gatherings there. At the same time, he appointed Mr. Khwaja to act for him as Principal so that he might have leisure to devote himself wholly to politics. At the Nagpur Congress, Mr. Muhammad Ali was the right-hand man of Mahatma Gandhi and by his influence along with that of his brother Shaukat secured a large majority for Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of Non-co-operation. Besides, Mr. Muhammad Ali took a large part in bringing the Muslim League into line with the Congress. He it was that moved at the session of the Muslim League held at Nagpur simultaneously with

the Congress the now well-known resolution that the object of the League was "the attainment of Swarajya by all legitimate and peaceful means" and got it carried although it was opposed by such men as Mr. Jinnah. He was active at the All-India Khilafat Conference held at the same place at the same time. At that Conference, he moved a resolution, which was of course carried, that Muslims would stand firmly by their demands in regard to the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab.

From this time forward, Mr. Muhammad Ali threw himself heart and soul into the Non-co-operation agitation—an agitation which so far perturbed the authorities as to make them resolve to take action against him under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code. Of the incidents which led up to this situation, we shall briefly refer to in the next chapter.

AGITATION, APOLOGY, AND ARREST.

No sooner did the Nagpur Congress resolve on collecting one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund than Mr. Muhammad Ali, along with Mahatma Gandhi and his brother Shaukat Ali, took upon himself the duty of exerting to his utmost to make this national resolution effective. He travelled throughout the country far and wide preaching the gospel of the Charka and Non-co-operation generally as well as exhorting people to contribute all they could for the Swarajya and the Khilafat funds. Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali left Nagpur after the Congress on an extensive propaganda tour. They reached Wardha on the 3rd of January 1921 and there spent two days of rest, comparatively speaking of course, at Mr. Seth Jamanlal's country-seat, granting interviews to and discussing the situation with the leading residents of the place. Mr. Muhammad Ali reached Aligarh towards the end of the month.

Thenceforward, Mr. Muhammad Ali's political work became more strenuous and more widespread. In January, he was at Nagpur

and Western India; in February he was at Calcutta and in Eastern India; in the beginning of March he was again in Bombay addressing meetings; in the middle of that month we saw him at Aligarh again at his University wherefrom he sent condolence messages to the Turkish Delegations in England, taking part in the London Near East Conference, on the cowardly assassination of Talaat Pasha in Germany, and where his influence was so much that the Distict Magistrate served on him an order not to make speeches in the Aligarh district for some months; and towards the end of March he was at Bezwada at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which drew up the now well-known Non-co-operation Programme, and at Madras and the southern districts in April. At all these places, he made very powerful speeches calling upon students to concentrate "all your attention on the peaceful revolution, on the bloodless revolution that you are to make in history" and preaching the "doctrine of the Charka."

At most of the places he visited Mr. Muhammad Ali made stirring speeches urging on the people the need for contribating their mite to the Tilak Swarajya fund and to enlist them-

selves as Congressmen. He made special reference on these occasions to the Swadeshi movement and was never tired of emphasizing the importance of the Charka and of spinning and weaving generally. No one perhaps did more to make the Bezwada Programme as good a success as it has been than Mr. Mahammad Ali, excluding of course Mahatma Gandhi. His appeal for men, money and munitions appears to have had a tremendous effect on the people, especially in Northern India. His eloquence, his directness and the incisive vigour with which he put forward his pleas in a manner which was humourous as well as effective were demonstrated by his lecturing tour which he made throughout India. "The British Goverment had machine guns," he said, and we give this as a characteristic utterance of his, "and that machine gun, I am told, can aim and kill at a distance of two thousand yards, while we have a very ancient machine, made in our country, by our own village carpenters that kills at a distance of 7,000 miles over sea and land (Hear, Hear)." " A shot fired from Madras," said he, in his speech at Madras made in April 1921, "kills Manchester (applause)". "But the root of all these things,' he added, showing his

seriousness of purpose, "lies here. Until and unless you think it a dishonour for a single minute to keep out of the ranks of the Congress and until your women think it a shame to wear those gold bangles, those earrings and even those jewels in their noses you cannot achieve your ends not only of manhood but also of womanhood, that is, so long as India is a widow."

It was in this same speech that Mr. Muhammad Ali made his now well-known statement about what his attitude will be towards an Afghan invasion of India. If, he said, "any outside power, Germans or Bolsheviks" confirming what he wrote in his letter from Betul jail, "or Turks or any outside power comes to invade our country and its people and to subjugate them we shall not only not assist but we shall consider it our duty to lead the resistance in India (Hear, hear). We have been made slaves once. We do not want to be made slaves of again." "But if," he added, "the Amir of Kabul does not invade India and does not want to subjugate the people of India, who never did any harm and who did not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, but if he comes to fight

against those who have had always an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people and hold the Holy places of Islam, who want to crush Islam in their hostile grip and want to destroy Mussulman faith and who were bent on their destroying the Khilafat, then, not only shall we assist but it will be our duty and the duty of everyone who calls himself a Mussulman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam." This statement has given not a little offence to a certain section of Indians. They see in this statement not an Indian patriot, but a pan-Islamist whose allegiance to the country is only next to his allegiance to an extra territorial force. It is only natural that such a view as this should be received with misgivings in some quarters. Mr. Muhammad Ali, however, explained subsequently i nan interview with the "Independent" representative that he, subject to Islamic dictates, was a patriot as he thought Mahatma Gandhi too was first a Hindu and then only a patriot. In any case, the menace to the country is imaginary, for, if, as Mahatma Gandhi and others have said, Muslims could gain their goal only with the aid of the Hindus, it is clear that they cannot do anything without Hindu aid.

Even therefore if pan-Islamists entertain suspicious designs on India it is open to India to adopt the same methods against the pan-Islamist power and overthrow it, the methods, that is, by which India secured its freedom. In any case the question of a Pan-Islamic movement against India is of little more than theoretical importance.

In the course of his peregrinations, Mr. Muhammad Ali was called upon to preside over more than one provincial, Khilafat and Muslim conference. Three of these occasions have become memorable because the speeches on these occasions brought Muhammad Ali into collision with Government. Thus, on April 3rd, Mr. Muhammad Ali presided over the Madras Muslim Volunteers' conference and made what is now known as his Erode speech. In that speech, Mr. Muhammad Ali made a lurid survey of the struggle by Ireland for her independence and of the way in which the British police and military forces were killed and otherwise violently handled. He said he did not propose to venture such a scheme for the volunteers in India. He was not afraid of saying that he believed in violence at one time, but he was certain that violence

could not be the only thing in the world. It was a bad thing. War was one of the worst things and there were worse things than war. He pointed out that there were 7½ lakhs of villages in India and that it was necessary that in all these villages a volunteer should be put, for, then, he said, "we shall not have to wait 6 or 9 months, we shall get Swaraj in a month, or perhaps, a week because I am not a disbeliever in the absolute docility and peacefulness of our masses!"

After charging the Government with having violated their own law and having disregarded law and order themselves, he concluded with the following striking peroration. "We want to prove," he said, "that it is not necessary to go about making speeches but still carry on the work and correct a Government that is based on tyranny. We want the Government to mend itself. If it will not mend itself, we have got to do it. We give it a chance. It was I who was against declaring absolute independence in the Congress, because I want to give the British Government one more chance. We should honestly give them a chance. We do not want to subvert the Government merely for the sake of subversion. We do not hate the

Government because it is foreign and if we had a government of Indians which was equally 'satanic,' we will hate it all the more. That is the work we have got to do. When we decided at Bezwada that the country was not sufficiently ripe and disciplined to undertake civil disobedience, it was because there were not enough volunteer corps. If you enlist in sufficient numbers the best blood amongst you, the most educated and enthusiastic amongst you, and at the same time exercise self-restraint, Swarajya will come to the nation. Swaraj will come to the Nation when Swaraj has come to the individuals. When self-government is within you, it will be with you. Self-Government of the individuals will result in the Self-Government of the Nation". "We want you to go to the fire," he concluded, "and be placed on the anvil so that the leaders may hammer you and you will come out as true steel which will never bend. I want you to be that steel for we have got to face a very big, bold enemy." These words might be said to summarise the whole philosophy of Muhammed Ali's attitude towards the Government, the people and the country. But yet this very speech that had insisted on the need for self-discipline and non-

violence as did no other speech of any other great leader in India was taken objection to by Government and was one on which the prosecution of the Musulman leader was decided upon.

Speeches like this which created a profound impression on the people also created deep alarm in the minds of the Government. About this time, that is, April 1921, Lord Chelmsford's term of office came to an end and he was succeeded by LordReading. The Government of India became nervous about these speeches, but Lord Reading, who came to India with a great reputation for justice, wanted to study the situation for himself before he decided to take action against the Non-co-operation leaders. The difficulty of the Government was that Mr. Gandhi had closely identified himself with the Ali Brothers and Government knew that they could not touch the Ali Brothers without evoking heroic measures on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and the country generally. Mr. Gandhi's reputation was then at the highest and Government dared not touch him. Two months after Lord Reading's arrival, however, what with the riots in Malegaon and other places, the Government decided that they should put

the law rigorously in motion against all who made incitements to violence. In this category they brought the Ali Brothers.

Meanwhile, Lord Reading wanted to understand the Non-co-operator's point of view and through the good offices of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the now famous Gandhi—Reading interview took place. At this interview, Lord Reading was able to see for himself how sincere Mahatma Gandhi was and how deeply were his activities rooted in justice and fairness. Lord Reading found how unwise it would then be, Gandhi's position being so strong in the country, to take action against the Non-co-operation movement as such. But he incidentally drew attention to the speeches of the Ali Brothers as falsifying the view of the Non-co-operatin movement put forward by Mr. Gandhi. These speeches, it was pointed out to Mr. Gandhi, might be construed as subtle incitements to violence, and, scrupulously fair as Gandhi always is, he agreed that such a misconstruction of the speeches was possible. He, therefore, wrote to the Ali Brothers and secured from them a statement repudiating any such intention on their part.

" Our friends have drawn attention to certain

speeches of ours," ran the statement, "which in their opinion, have a tendency to incite for violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation. We therefore sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that so long as we are associated with the movement of Non-violent Non co-operation we shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed we hold it contrary to the spirit of Non-violent N C. O. to which we have pledged our word. Bombay 29, May."

The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy as also the Moderate Press who were bent upon discrediting the Non-co-operation movement made much of this statement and ridiculed the Ali Brothers for having so abjectly, as they put it, apologised to secure freedom from arrest. In the light of subsequent events, Mr. Gandhi

himself felt that it was perhaps impolitic on his part to have secured this statement and caused it to be published, for it was difficult to remove the impression which obtained in hostile circles and was sedulously fostered by them abroad that the statement was an abject and cowardly apology by some of the greatest Non-co-operation leaders to the very 'satanic' Government which they despised. The Non-co-operators rightly pointed out that the statement was made only to remove any misapprehensions that may have been entertained by the ignorant and the credulous in the country and that it was neither addressed toGovernment nor, much less, any apology to them. In any case, the incident gave Government a means to get out of the great difficulty in which they were placed—that of either prosecuting the leaders and courting possible serious disturbances in the country or leave them alone at the cost of their prestige. The Government said with a magnanimous air that they would treat with contempt all activities of Government which were not directly incitements to violence. It must be said that the statement was in many places considered as an apology and it was looked upon as such by a section of the Non-co-operators

themselves who in general had expressed their indignation at the affair. The Ali Brothers, however stood firm, expressed their convictions clearly and maintained that they cared neither for their life nor liberty in the cause of their religion and their country. That they were not cowards they soon proved by the stirring speeches they continued to make both at conferences and at public meetings so much so that the apology incident was soon forgotten and they continued to be as great public favourites as ever.

The subsequent events are too well known to be set down at length. Mr. Muhammad Ali presided at the famous Karachi Khilafat Conference which passed a resolution deciding that it was *haram* for true Mussalmans to serve the enemies of Islam. After the Karachi Conference, Mr. Muhammad Ali toured with Mahatma Gandhi in North and North-Eastern India, especially Bengal and Assam and fixed up a tour programme which included a trip to Southern India.

The progress of the Non-co-operation Movement, both on its political and on its economic side, as signified by the successful collections to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the introduction

of a not inconsiderable number of charkas with effect alarmed the British jingoes of all varieties. The middle class Englishmen who provided the British bureaucracy in India were alarmed at the prospect of their children not being in the future able to become Indian "Nabobs"; and they tried their best through their representatives such as Sir M. O'Dwyer and Sir W. Joynson-Hicks and Sir Charles Yate to bring pressure to bear on the Indian Government to suppress the Non-co-operation Movement with an iron hand. Sir M. O'Dwyer read a paper on the Mussalmans of India about this time before the Central Asian Society in the course of which he stated that the whole ferment in the East against the British—in Turkey and the Near East, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, in Afghanistan—was due to the weakness displayed by the Indian authorities in dealing with the seditious agitators and their treasonable conduct, as he chose to characterise the activities of the Ali Brothers and Mr. Gandhi. In his view, if, in India Britain ruled with a firm hand, enforcing the law rigorously, then the masses would continue in their loyalty, and the strength of British policy in India would have a wholesome effect on the

vascillating anti-British Muslim States abroad. The call for the prosecution of the Brothers did not come from the "careerists" alone. Lord Ampthill, speaking on behalf of Lancashire, pointed out how dreadful would be the effect of the Gandhi boycott, should it prove successful, on British Labour and industry generally and the fact that he put forward this view in the "People" is significant. And while "careerists" and industrial magnates in England were urging action, their friends in India who were also beginning to feel the waning away of their influence and their privileged position wanted to do something calculated to restore the past "respect" of the country towards them. The *Pioneer* and journals of its kind began to pour out bitter attacks on the Ali Brothers and this attack, unfortunately, was in a way supported by a certain section of the Liberal Press. Everywhere, then, the ground for the prosecution of the Brothers had been prepared.

And the prosecution was not long in coming. On September 14, while Mr. Muhammad Ali was on his way to the Madras Presidency along with Mahatma Gandhi on a lecturing tour, Mr. Muhammad Ali and

Mahatma Gandhi alighted at Vizagapatam according to programme and were about to deliver their speeches when, under the orders of the District Magistrate of Vizagapatam, the great Muslim leader was arrested under Sections 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, ostensibly to call upon him to show cause why he should not be bound over for keeping peace and refraining from making seditious speeches, but really to detain him, as Mr. Craik, the Home Secretary, stated in the Council of State, pending the arrival of the Karachi Police to arrest Mr. Muhammad Ali for prosecution for sedition, seducing the soldiers from their allegiance, etc. For three days nearly, the news was kept a secret, a censorship having been imposed on telegrams conveying the news. In Madras, however, the news reached early, having been brought by Mahatma Gandhi personally. After the arrest, Mr. Muhammad Ali was hurried away to Karachi in a special train, the routes being guarded with troops. *En route*, wherever people knew that the Muslim leader was travelling, in spite of the secrecy kept by the Police, he was loudly cheered and he was hurried away amid the persisting cry of "Allah-ho-Akbar."

The drama of the national crisis thus opened and the curtain, almost immediately, fell on one scene of it.

THE GREAT TRIAL.

The sensational committal proceedings opened at Karachi in September and by the end of September the proceedings were over and the accuseds were commited to the Sessions for trial. We shall not attempt to describe the deep feelings of indignation in the country on the one hand, mingled, as it was with a sense of relief especially among the Non-coperation leaders, and the vast crowds and the indescribable scenes of painful enthusiasm on the other. The whole of the Non-co-operation Press welcomed the event as the harbinger of national freedom, the Nationalist Press condemned stoutly the short-sighted action of the Government, while the Liberal Press were sceptical as to the wisdom of the prosecutions. The Anglo-Indian Press, however, put on an air of rejoicing, not unmingled with anxiety as to the effect of the arrest on the temper of the country, and became bolder and bolder only when it knew that the country was serious in its programme of non-violence of which it all along kept the country reminding.

The effect on the country as regards the prosecutions was not long in coming. The offence for which the Ali Brothers, the Shankaracharya, Dr. Kitchlew and others were prosecuted was repeated by thousands of people from a thousand platforms and manifestoes repeating the offence were signed by a similar number. The Working Committee of the Congress met shortly after and issued a manifesto to the country affirming the position taken up by the Muslim leaders and this manifesto, it is significant of the reality of the Hindu-Muslim entente, was signed by numerous Hindu leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, N. C. Kelkar, C. Rajagopalachariar, and several other Congressmen hailing from various parts of the country and signifying the widespread nature of the feeling in the country about the arrests. The Government, it is noteworthy, stood helplessly 'refusing to take any action against these' which action, if they had considerations for logic, should have followed immediately. They only made the country more determined than ever to continue in the campaign for the boycott of the Prince's visit and the use of Khaddar.

We shall not tarry long over the proceedings in the Court. The charges against Mr. Muhammad Ali and his defence thereto are so well detailed at length in Mr. Muhammad Ali's now famous address to the jury which we publish *in extenso* elsewhere that they do not require minute examination here. We shall therefore be content with summarising the main features of the trial in outline. Neither at the committal proceedings nor at the Sessions did the accused take any part in the examination of witnesses. As for the charge against Mr. Muhammad Ali that he behaved childishly and indecorously, levelled against him by the Anglo-Indian and the Co-operator Press, he has himself explained his position in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi which was published in *Young India*. We shall not notice them.

Before the Magistrate, Mr. Muhammad Ali, in the course of a long, penetrating and interesting address, explained that he had allowed the evidence to move, as he wittily remarked, "on oiled castors" without attempting to rebutt it. He would submit merely a statement of facts. As regards the charges against him—criminal conspiracy, promoting enmity to Government, and attemp-

ting to seduce the troops from their allegiance —Mr. Muhammad Ali said there was no conspiracy. What they had done had been done in broad daylight, in defence of the Muslim's sacred right of defending the Khalifat. He had no knowledge of the leaflets circulated among the troops, but he approved of them. The Resolution declaring that no Muslim could remain in the Indian Army had been adopted when it seemed probable that the Allies would resume hostility against Turkey. They had warned the Government of two dangers—that Muhammadans would join the Gandhi Movement of Civil Disobedience and that the forthcoming National Congress might proclaim independence and a republic of India. The British Government, Mr. Muhammad Ali argued, had been guilty of ill faith to the chief Muslim power, and in consequence every true Muslim must be opposed to it. The arguments were, of course, brushed aside and Mr. Muhammad Ali was committed to the Sessions.

The Sessions trial opened at Karachi on October 26. It created the most widespread interest in the country within living memory. The Indian press assigned precedence to the event over every other item of news. The accu-

sed, as before, confined themselves to addressing the jury after the case for the prosecution had been elaborately presented and after new witnesses had been examined after the committal proceedings and after new charges had been framed.

Mr. Muhammad Ali offered no defence. Had he cared to do so, he said, in the course of his momentous address to the jury, a master-piece in advocacy, he could have swept away the Crown Prosecutor's case, for no one of the charges had been proved. The procedure was wrong, for not only witnessès were introduced after the committal proceedings were over and additional charges framed, but there were other seriously fatal irregularities. The jury did not contain a single Muslim gentleman who could appreciate the Muslim's position, but of that he did not complain. It was not, he declared, the Khilafat leaders, but the Government who were on trial, since they had set themselves up against the law of God; and a Muslim must obey the latter. As in his speech before the Magistrate, he made an elaborate analysis of the Victorian Proclamation of 1858 and its successors to prove that the British Government had violated its pledges

of respect for the religions of India. He insisted that he stood with Gandhi against violence. They had "given their word of non-violence to God and man."

Mr. Muhammad Ali's peroration was a solemn adjuration to the jury about their duty and about the effect their misjudgment would have on the future of India. He compared the scene to the trial of Socrates and that of Christ before Pontius Pilate, imploring the jury to think of their decision in relation to their own souls. It would be futile to attempt to summarise it to bring out its effect and we shall not essay the task. We shall be content with referring the reader to the full text of the address published elsewhere.

The jury, after an anxious deliberation, returned a verdict of not guilty under the principal charges of conspiracy and seduction of soldiers, but pronounced "guilty" under the minor charges of causing mischief, etc., significantly adding at the same time that they did not take into account the deep-rooted Muslim sentiments in the matter.

On November 1, the judge pronounced his judgment. He agreed with the jury's verdict, acquitted the accused under the serious char-

ges, but convicted them for the minor of offences of causing mischief abetting offenco etc. He sentenced Mr. Muhammad Ali to two years' rigorous imprisonment. The sentence was received with the cry of "Allah-ho-Akbar" by the anxious crowd.

We have now come to the end of our sketch. We have traced the environments into which Mr. Muhammad Ali was born and brought up, the influences to which he was subjected in his youth, and his early official life in which they found concrete expression. We have narrated the circumstances which made him cast his lot first with the Muslim communal movement and, then as a result thereof, with the national movements as a whole. We have seen how from a being by birth, tradition, and communal interests, a "loyalist of loyalists", he subsequently became, by the sheer force of the logic of events, a "Swarajist" of the most uncompromising type. It now remains for us to understand him, to gain an insight into his character as a whole, and to analyse and find out the motive forces which mould and guide his conduct.

Muhammad Ali, it has to be said, is an enigma to many people. If he has been misunderstood by many Hindus, we are not quite sure that he

has not been misunderstood by as many Muslims as well. Many Hindus suspect that what he is really about is to establish a Muslim Raj on the ashes of the British Raj through the help of the Hindus! Probably, many Muslims too believe that he is out to make Muslim influence supreme in India! Both these misapprehensions are based on his famous statement that he is a Muslim first and then only an Indian. The apparent conflict between Patriotism and Religion, that ever recurring question, is responsible for these misapprehensions. But the conflict is only apparent. Both, it will be recognised, are virtues and both are aspects of the same great Truth which it is the object of religion to realise. There can be no conflict between two virtues and between two aspects of the same Truth in a world which is based on a moral order. The duty of the pious and the patriotic, then, is to reconcile the seeming conflicts, if there are any, for without the one or the other erring, there can be no conflict. History has to a large extent pointed out to us the way in which such reconciliation could be effected. It is not likely that Socrates, Christ or Sir Thomas More would be put to death today for their opinions and convictions; and the

fact that Muhammad Ali has based his case on Justice, pure and simple, is a good augury for reconciling possible conflicts. Justice is being accepted by all as the final arbiter and therefore the possibilities of conflict are to that extent limited.

The evolution of this Muslim Patriot itself shows how this reconciliation is brought about in the natural course of things. Mr. Muhammad Ali is, as has been hinted, a patriot because he is a staunch Muslim. Because, again, as he was a staunch Muslim, he began as a staunch "loyalist" and depended on the British Government and the continuance of British rule unimpaired influence and power for the safe-guarding of the rights and liberties of the Muslim minority. The Muslim University deadlock cast a doubt on this faith and the Cawnpore mosque affair shook it; and, though, thanks to Lord Hardinge, it was soon patched up somewhat, it revealed to him how easily Muslim interests might clash with British ideals and interests and how relentlessly the latter may be allowed to prevail over the former. The treatment accorded to the Muslim demands in regard to the Khilafat was the last straw that broke the camel's back. No agitation has

been so solidly backed up by the Muslim community as a whole and none certainly with such earnestness as has been the Khilafat agitation; and the fact that the matter affected vital and deep-seated interests of Islam itself as a force in the world only enhanced the importance of the Muslim demands.

Ignorance cannot afford an excuse for ignoring these sentiments ; for, it is no secret that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State seem to have warned the British Cabinet of the seriousness of the question and its reasonableness. More than that, not one; but several Muslim and Indian Missions to England, apprised the Cabinet personally of this fact. Mr. Muhammad Ali himself had headed the most important of them and though he obtained sympathy, which for the moment was an empty thing, from more than one quarter, in England itself he was met with ridicule, contempt, insult and rank prejududice. In contrast with this attitude of what he till then thought to be the sacred and faithful custodian of Islamic interests, he found his fellow country-men of the different faiths cordially sympathetic and actively helpful. Is it any wonder that, profiting

by this base betrayal, he threw himself heart and soul into a national movement ? Mr. Muhammad Ali is a Muslim first, last and for all time : he who befriends Islam is befriended by him ; and since no country will befriend Islam more earnestly than his own, he will befriend his country most——and the most fanatical Muslim easily becomes among the greatest of Indian patriots.

And this is no empty compliment. None has done more in the last one year to cement Hindu—Muslim Unity than Mr. Muhammad Ali. None now values Indian freedom more than he : and he has said, not once, that if the thirty crores of Hindus would not free India, the seven crores of Muslims should. And he would not be content simply with winning freedom only to lose it. He would maintain it against all comers, be they even Afgans or Turks. The Patriot in him would see that he becomes no Muslim Imperialist, trampling under foot the dearly cherished liberties of his fellow countrymen of non-Muslim faiths. Muhammad Ali is truly a Muslim as well as a patriot and a patriot as well as a Muslim. And he sings with Prof. Vaswani :

The Past is not past;
Our Heroes and Singers and Sages are
not dead :
They still live in Thee; they hover over
their Native Land :
And I hear them call, us today :
"Unite and be Strong!"
Akbar the Sindhi and Abul Fazl and the
far-famed Shah
Speak through the Veil of Time :
"Unite and be Strong."
The Sages of Vedic Sind, the Sufis of a
later age,...
They call us : "Unite and be strong!" *

Of the nobility of his character, his child-like face is truly the index of his mind. His brusqueness of manner and biting humour are but the external expressions of his innocent frankness and amiable geniality, paradoxical though the statement may seem. He united in him the culture and imaginativeness of the Periclean Greek, the valour, the solemnity and the dutifulness of the ancient Roman, the fighting religious fervour and piety of the early Crusader and the breath of outlook and catholicity of temperament of the cultered modern.

* The spirit and struggle of Islam, Ganesh.

If to-day they are clapped in prison, they have been followed faithfully by their Hindu compatriots; and if dark and ominous clouds are gathering in the political horizon and if the circumscribed and limited angle of vision of a certain class of people cannot comprehend the patriots, surely the day is not far-off when the dark clouds will break to give way to a splendid dawning, when the ideas of equality and freedom will occupy the minds of our countrymen, when the Ali Brothers as well as their compatriots will stand as conspicuous figures, crowned with glory, holding the banner to democracy and liberty.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take,
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings on your head.

There can be no higher compliment to any man than that which Mahathma Gandhi bestowed on the Ali Brothers—that he knew of no two Muslims more good and true than the great Muslim Brothers.

The Historic Karachi Trial.

FULL TEXT OF MR. MAHOMED ALI'S ADDRESS TO JURY.

Moulana Mahomed Ali, before addressing the Jury turning to the Court, said :—

Can I have the Jury on this side? I have not seen their faces yet. I want to seduce them like the troops (laughter in Court).

The Court directed the Jurors to change their seats accordingly, and the Judge also changed the position of his seat, turning to the left, directly facing the accused.

Moulana Mahomed Ali then rose amid pin-drop silence, and addressing the Jury, said :—

Gentlemen of the Jury,—I just asked the presiding Judge that he might permit me to see your faces because with the exception of one of your number I have not hitherto been able to see your faces. And I also said that I want to seduce the Jury. Of course, there was behind that another intention, not the ultimate

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object perhaps, but incidental to it, as the Public Prosecutor would say. I wanted you to act as a screen in front of the ladies now behind you, or the Public Prosecutor may add yet another charge of seduction against me (laughter). But, after all, I find that as a result of my effort at seduction, I have turned the Judge also towards me to-day (laughter).

Gentlemen, I think I am going to take as much time as I can; so it is necessary to tell you beforehand that if I intended to defend myself or my friends and to escape from transportation for life or the gallows or the Jail—I don't know what the Judge has in store for me—it would have been absolutely unpardonable. No, Gentlemen, for that purpose I would not have wasted a single moment of your time or of mine.

CLEAR CUT AND POINTED ISSUE.

I do not want any defence. I have no defence to offer. And there is no need of defence, for it is not we who are on trial. It is the Government itself that is on trial. It is the Judge himself who is on trial. It is the whole system of public prosecutions, the entire provisions of this law that are on trial. It is not a question of my defence. It is a very clear

issue and I thanked the Government in the lower court, because for the first time it came out into the open and gave us chance of having decision on a very clear cut and pointed issue. That very clear cut and pointed issue is this: Is God's law for a British subject to be more important or the King's law—a man's law? Call him His Majesty or His Imperial Majesty, exalt him as much as you like—show all obedience to him—show him all the loyalty you can—pay him all the respect—entertain even superstitions about him if you like. But the question is—is this respect, are these superstitions going to stand even for the slightest moment in the way of loyalty which every human being owes to God? Gentlemen, I think not for my own sake, nor for the sake of my co-accused, but I think for you. It is a misfortune that there is not a single Mussalman among you. Three of you are Christians and two are Hindus. But that does not matter at all. I am speaking to human beings, I am speaking mostly to Indians. I do not know whether all of you are Indians—perhaps one of you is not, though he too may have his domicile in India and may have come to regard India—although an Englishman as his home,—and may therefore be regarded as an Indian.

I am therefore speaking to a majority of you at least who came from a country which is imbued with the spirit of religion and which is traditionally a spiritual country and which has striven through ages for the exaltation of the spirit as against the flesh.

Toleration—What it Means?

Gentlemen, we hear so much of toleration in these enlightened days, and I do not think that even the Public Prosecutor would contradict me if I say that we all want toleration. The British Government has never tired of saying that it is a tolerant Government, and that British rule is firmly based on toleration. I do not think that the Government of any civilised country in this twentieth century could ever say that it is against toleration. But what is toleration, after all? It is this, as a well-known man said,—"Sir, I disagree most heartily with every word of what you have said, but damn it, I shall fight to the last drop of my blood for your right to say it". *That is toleration.* That is to say, toleration is required for disagreement, it is required where people are not of the same opinion, where people hold very different views—where they have wide

difference. Otherwise, there is no necessity for toleration. But the tolerant man tolerates all this and sacrifices everything for the maintenance of tolerance. Now you might say, a man might hold very foolish opinions—I am sorry many men do—I think the Public Prosecutor for one holds some very foolish opinions—and we have yet got to see what kind of opinion the Judge holds—that would be after I am silenced. But it is not the question whether a man's judgment is right or wrong. People's judgment may be foolish. The question is this,—when any person or a body of persons give you a pledge or freedom to hold your own opinions and act up to them, then I think it is their duty to abide by that pledge.

The Case Is—God *Versus* Man.

Now, Gentlemen, what the case is against us? We want the whole world to understand it. After all, the result of the decision here will not be confined to the audience in this hall, or to the few scores of thousands of people in Karachi. It was said that the Resolution that was passed here was not meant for that small body of the audience comprising a few Ulemas and a few thousand people, but it was

meant for a larger audience. Now, this trial, too is meant for more than the audience here in this hall,—certainly for more than the five of you. It is really meant for the whole world. We want to have our right to get the protection of the law for our religious beliefs and practices recognised. Let the Government be repentant and say that "we have seen the error of our ways" (turning to Mr. Ross Alston). These are the words which my friend Mr. Ross Alston wanted me to say as my last words and they shall be my last words, but with regard to the action proper for the Government (laughter). But will the Government say that? Is it going to abide by that pledge of freedom of Faith? Or would the Government say,—'No, we are powerful, we are strong, we have dreadnoughts, we have aeroplanes, we have all this soldiery, we have machine guns, we have all this paraphernalia of destruction with us, we command tremendous power, we have beaten the most powerful nation in Europe, though of course with the help of twenty-six Allies (laughter) and India's men, money and other resources but—that's another story (laughter)—we cannot tolerate your religious opinions and acts. If they say that, we can understand that. Therefore, it is not for the

purpose of defending ourselves but it is to make this issue clear—because it is a national issue—nay more than that—it is an issue on which the history of the world to a great extent depends— whether in the civilised century, man's word shall be deemed higher than the word of God. The trial is not "Mahomed Ali and six others *versus* the Crown," but "God *versus* man." This case is, therefore, between God and man. That is the trial. The whole question is "Shall God dominate over man or shall man dominate over God"?

Skating Over Thin Ice.

Now, Gentlemen, you were here, though it was not intended for you—you happened to be here—when we refused to stand up when the Judge asked us to do so. We have always dissociated ourselves from and repudiated the idea of showing any disrespect to the Judge. We are not foolish enough to create any unnecessary unpleasantness or to worry the Judge or irritate him. We have no grudge against him. But the whole question was with regard to respect to a man as against respect to God. As my brother has said in the lower court, and as I say before you now, we do not recognise the King any longer as our King—

we do not owe any loyalty to any man who denies our right to be loyal to God. I have not a word to say against the King—I have not a word against the Royal family. But where the question of God comes in as against the Government I cannot have any respect for a Government when that Government demands from me that I must not first respect God and His laws. Therefore, the whole question really is, as I have said, between God and man. The Public Presecutor has very skilfully stated his case and when he came to our religious beliefs and the commandments of God, he was anxious to get over it as quickly as possible. He was skating over thin ice? He brushed all that aside. Now to challenge him—I challenge the Judge to give a decision on the point. It is not at all a question of facts with which you, Gentlemen of the Jury, have to deal. If the Judge deals with the question of law in his summing up—and sentences us, if the verdict of the Jury goes against us in the case in which you act as Jurors, and if he exercises his right as a Judge to decide both as regards the facts and the law in the cases in which you act merely as assessors, after you give your opinion as assessors—if he sentences us, dis-

regarding our religious obligations, then our course will be clear. It does not matter what punishment we are likely to get and under what section of the Penal Code we get it as there are any number of sections—sections 120-B, 131, 109, 505, 117 and sc on. As regards those sections and the various charges so far as I am concerned, I was greatly confused, and I am trying to compute how many years altogether I shall get (laughter), I have but one life and I do not know if it can cover the many years that I shall get if I am punished according to my desert (laughter). But that is absolutely immaterial.

God and King.

The whole thing is this. I want a decision from the Court on behalf of this Government that the C ourts of India cannot give any protection to a man who does the thing that I have done, though it admits that it is precisely the thing that his religion commands—his God demand—from him. God is not clamouring from the house-top. He is shouting from His eternally high throne—clamouring from there—"Man whom I have created from just a clot of blood, whom I raised to whatever of power and glory you possess—

whatever you have and whatever you are it is I who gave it to you and made all this for you—*I want you to serve Me and not a creature of Mine.* Whatever respect I may have for the king, I may not bow before him when he asks me not to bow before my God and His commandments.

Queen's Proclamation—Protection of Religious Feelings.

The Judge had hinted something about the beliefs of some sects. He said—Suppose a sect of the Hindu demands human sacrifice. I do not know if any religion in India demands human secrifice. It is not a question of individual belief that was involved in our case. Then the Public Prosecutor had said we had different sects among ourselves. We quarrelled among ourselves as to which of these is right and which is wrong. Well, it is not a question of which sect is right. Do we know which religion is right and which religion is wrong? In this it is not a question of our belief alone. It is the question of the belief of every Moslem. But even if it was a case of particular sect, do you mean to say that the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 required at that time that each and every one of the 330

millions of people of India must be agreed—call the heavens and the whole earth and all the planets and the men in the moon and all the men in the Mars—every one must be agreed that this was the one true and correct Faith and it was then that the Queen's Proclamation provided protection? No protection would have been required for such a Faith. What is the Penal Code itself for? It is to give you the protection that I seek—that I may not hurt your religious feelings. In to-day's "*New Times*" we find that some men—Khilafat men—have been prosecuted in Calcutta because they hurt the religious feelings of a Policeman by asking him to resign Government service. (Laughter). I have not the least doubt that these men will be condemned. But you see there is a provision of law even for protecting a Policeman's religious feelings. Take another case. A little piece of stone which some men worship and worship with full intensity—with as much intensity as my own when I say my prayers—possibly with greater intensity than mine. You do not approve of it—you heartily disapprove of it—and want to remove it. But can you do it? You cannot. The law gives the man who worships it its protection. Why does it do so?

It is not because the man's religion is good but because of the man's feelings. Because the framers of the law say that it is not good religion that they seek to protect, but it is the man's religious feelings. It is not the objective religion but the subjective feelings of the man that have to be protected. It is this that Lord Macaulay and others sought to protect—the religious feelings of a brother man, however foolish and superstitious and wrong they may be. It is this that you have got to protect, and the law provides this protection. But I base my case upon the Queen's Proclamation and the King's Proclamations. So the Judge has got to declare whether these Proclamations have any value in a law-court or not. That picture (pointing to the picture of King Edward VII) is there to remind the Judge that he has to give us the protection of the King's law. You will take that law from him because you cannot either take the law from me or from my friend there (pointing to the Public Prosecutor). If you took your law from him you will be in a perilous state—truly a sad plight (laughter).

THE QUORAN AND ITS TRADITIONS.

But in this case, it is not the case of any man's individual opinion or the opinion of

a small number of Mussalmans, though you cannot hurt the feelings—the religious feelings—even of these. Here it is not a question of a sect but of a religion. No person who calls himself a Mussalman can go outside this book (pointing to the Quoran). Look at this translation in English. This book is full of repetition. Altogether it is only about 500 pages. It is this book which constitutes the chief source of our religious laws. I wish to explain this, so that there may not be any misunderstanding. You ought to know where my religion is to be found. I do not take it from any individual's beliefs. My religion is all contained in the first instance in this tiny volume. Then come the Traditions of our Prophet. But about this original source (pointing to the Quoran) there is not one single sect of Musaslmans that differs about a single syllable. Therefore, you will find that here is a solid bed-rock for our Faith, about which there is no difference of opinion. In the case of the Prophet's traditions even if one of the companions of the Prophet said that the Prophet said so and so and if that Tradition, handed down from his companions, is against or in contravention of anything contained in this book, no Moslem will accept that tradition.

We shall not believe anything that is attributed to the Prophet, if it is against the Quoran. But if it explains it (the Quoran) or supplements it (*adjuvandi causa* or *supplendi causa*) we may accept it. I wish to make no odious comparisons. But what I wish to point out is that the four gospels of the Christian Scriptures, if we have to test their anthenticity—(interrupted by the Court).

The Court—I cannot allow you to go on in this way. It is not strictly relevant to the case. Are you speaking in your defence or not? What is your point ?

M. M. Ali—My point is that even the Prophet's Traditions have been authenticated with the greatest ease; but their testimony, too, cannot override the dictates of the Quoran on which all sects of Islams agree. It has been said that there are sects. Well, I am not going to base my case upon anything which is subject to the differences of sects. I am going to base my case upon the solid bedrock of the Quoran. If you will give me the opportunity to make the Jury understand what my friend the Public Prosecutor has so lightly brushed aside altogether.

The Court—I cannot turn this trial into a religious controversy. This is irrelevant. You cannot cite these texts here.

M. M. Ali —They are contained in my statement in the lower court. They are on my record. I wish to explain their bearing to the Jury. Well, if I am not allowed to explain my case I will stop.

The Court—Why bring out this religious matter, which has no concern with me? I do not want to limit you unnecessarily. You must confine yourself to the charges against you.

M. M. Ali—I entirely differ from the court in this matter. I think I am entitled to explain as to what my religion lays down without any difference of sects and to prove that this is the religion which the law protects. Tell me that the law does not protect my religion and I am satisfied I will sit down. I do not know how you are going to sum up the case to the Jury. Therefore, before you have summed up and their verdict is delivered I am putting this before the Jury.

Religion and Criminal Offence.

The Court—I shall tell the Jury, however, that the excuse that you offer is no excuse if

you have done anything which is a criminal offence—that religion is no excuse for a criminal offence.

M. M. Ali—Therefore, it seems to me that the summing up, too, is already done before I have done with addressing the Jury. There have been so many things, too previous in this trial.

The Court—Whether you have committed the offence or not, has to be decided according to the law of the land.

M. M. Ali—There is nothing which is required by a man's religion which can be an offence in British India as long as the Proclamation held. Yon cannot in this country ask a Hindu to kill a cow. Before enlisting recruits you have to take people's answers down and you bind them by a certain oath. This is the Form (showing the Form) upon which soldiers are enlisted. People take the oath that they will abide by their pledge. Yet not a single Hindu soldier who takes that oath will kill a cow in spite of all the allegiance that he might owe to the King. Therefore if his Officer commands him to kill a cow and the Hindu soldier refuses it, will he be hauled up before this Court? If the Commander orders

a Hindu or a Mussalman soldier to use cow or swine greased cartridges—which the Hindu and Mussalmans won't touch and he refuses to do it. could he be brought before any Court of Law? The Queen's Proclamation will give him the protection—no matter what your Penal Code might say So long as what I do is enjoined by my religion no Indian Penal Code or other penal law can touch me because the Queen's Proclamation is there, as long as the Queen's successor is the Ruler, as long as the King's picture is here, you, the Judge, will have to take your orders from the Queen's Proclamation and the King's; otherwise I will know that the whole thing was a camouflage and that all this talk about tolerance was sheer cant and hypocrisy. Now, in this Form you will see there is a question (reads the Form)—"Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with your Military duty?" I take it that every soldier at the time of enlisting has got to answer this in the affirmative and to sign this Form. That does not allow the Commandant to believe that no religious commandment is therefore binding on a soldier. Supposing the man is asked to kill a cow by his officer to provide beef for him. The man absolutely refuses that

and he quotes his scriptures and *shastras*. No section of your Penal Code will ever assist the Judge or the Jury to declare that this man would be punished because he is acting according to his religion. Say that he cannot be punished, and I sit down. No, Gentlemen, you have to write on every section throughout the Penal Code and every other law, the favourite phrase of the lawyers "without prejudice," *i.e.*, "without prejudice" to a man's religion. You say that there are bad customs like 'Sati' which we cannot allow. Then you should declare the customs which you will allow and the conditions on which you will be tolerant. Even murder is not murder if the man's religion demands it. And the Queen gave the law's protection by the Proclamation to that religion. You say there are many religions and sects in this country. Well, then, you should have proclaimed that such and such religions shall receive protection. You should have made it clear that on these conditions alone whosoever wanted to live within this Empire will be allowed to live and regarded as loyal subject. Whoever did not want to live within the orbit of this loyalty, that man would either have walked out of this Empire or would have kicked you out of it.

THE EVIDENCE—TRIVIAL THINGS.

My friend the Public Prosecutor told you that we are very sincere, that we are people who are straight forward. I am thankful to him for this compliment. But he did this for his own purpose, and I am going to use it for my purpose now. Gentlemen, you will now understand that we are not the people who are going to be easily frightened into telling untruths to escape punishment, if we deserve it on the evidence laid before you. Whatever evidence there is in this case is trivial character and I will not worry you about these trivial things. I am not going to bother about the evidence regarding the time. We left the Kanyashala or returned to it or about the Subjects Committee, which was led to prove our association. Association with whom? Association with my brother? In that case the Public Prosecutor could similarly have given the whole of our past history and with his chronological order should have been placed in the evidence before you that my brother was present at my birth that we live together in the same home, that he took away my pocket-money when we were in school—and when I demanded back my money he beat me black and blue

(laughter). This is association (laughter). All this, Gentlemen of the Jury, is trivial evidence. The main case is—Does the Queen's Proclamation give protection to the Muslim religion or not? My whole contention is that if we ask the Muslim soldier to give up serving in the British Army and to refuse to recruit, and ask other people not to be recruited, and we say and prove that it is to be found in the Quoran, then, we are immune. You cannot punish us. Where the Penal Code is not opposed to the Quoran, it stands. When the Penal Code is in antagonism to the Quoran it does not stand. It must go. That is the whole case. If I am wrong in this, let the Judge decide, I will be content. You, Gentlemen, must not take what the prosecution says about individual opinion as affecting our case though even in that case we have got to think of the man's religious feelings. I have given you 17 or 18 out of the 34 Hadises and the six verses from the Quoran, cited by Moulana Husain Ahmed Sahib. From these very citations the Gentlemen of the Jury and the presiding Judge may understand very clearly what a Muslim must not do. The Public Prosecutor has talked of verses cited without their contexts. It was to avoid this that I

have given long extracts from the Quoran so that you may be easily able to understand to the context. I say, ask any Muslim of any sect, send for any man— even the court *chaprasi*—and ask him to say if what I say is written in the Quoran or not. He will easily point it out for you if he can read the Quoran, and if he knows Arabic he will explain it to you. There would be no difference of opinion. I challenge the Government, I challenge the prosecution to produce any man, to produce any judicial opinion or Fatwa to show that what we declared is wrong. There might be a difference between the Shias and the Sunnis, there is a difference about the Khilafat questions. The Shias do not believe in the Sultan's Khilafat. There might be some difference about some other matters; but there is no difference of opinion about this. As regards non-co-operation generally there might be a difference of opinion. There might be men who are against relinquishing honours or service or giving up grants-in-aid to schools. They say this is a matter of business and not of friendship or co-operation; you may retain this grant or leave it. But, after all, it is a small minority that says so, and many of this minority have sold them-

selves to Government. But so far as the question of killing another Mussalman is concerned there is no difference of opinion. This is the main point.

THE CHARGES.

Now, Gentlemen, I want to say something about the charges. It is not for you, Gentlemen, nor for me, to object to the misjoinder of charges. If I am to address anyone on that point, I shall address the Judge. I think I am within my rights if I refer to this. But so far as you are concerned, I may tell you, Gentlemen, that any number of sections—109, 117, 120, 131 and 505 of the Indian Penal Code have been jumbled together for the purpose of creating confusions—though section 233 of the Criminal Procedure Code lays down that these several charges cannot be joined. Section 233 runs thus :—

"For every distinct offence of which any person accused there shall be a separate charge and every such charge shall be tried separately except in the cases mentioned in sections 234, 235, 236 and 239 ; section 234 says when a person is accused of more offence than one of the same kind committed within the space of 12 months from the first to the last of such

offences, he may be charged with, and tried at one trial for any number of them not exceeding three."

The court—I do not think you should trouble yourself in reading this to the Jury. There cannot be any re-casting of the charges at this late stage.

Moulana Mahomed Ali—The general rule is that the individuals should be separately tried and the charges should be separately dealt with, becauses if this is not done it will prejudice the accused and it will prejudice the Gentlemen of the Jury and do not know why they are jumbled together, but it seems to me that all representing the Crown have criminally conspired (laughter) so that so many sections of the law have been brought in only to confuse everybody. I do not know whether any of you, Gentlemen, have understood them clearly. I did not quite understand what the first charge and what was the second charge—what was to go before you as Jury and what was to go before the Judge and before you as Assessors. It was not quite clear until to-day. When I was being brought here from Waltair, one of the Policemen escorting me in the special

train asked me with what offence I had been charged. I did not know, but told him that my warrant had recited sections 120, 121, 505 and 117. The Policeman drolly remarked in Urdu which mean: "They may apply as many as they like; for, after all they are home-made sections" (laughter). I wonder if any of you, Gentlemen, have played billiards. Well, there are three balls in billard and you score by hitting your ball in such a way that it hits the other two or hits another and then drops into one of the packets attached to the table or forces the other balls into these packets. But sometimes those cursed ball lie on the table in such a manner that you don't know what to do with them to score and this happens infernally frequently to the beginner. Well, the advice that will in such a case get from the more experienced is to hit hard and trust the rest to luck (laughter) and not unoften score what is called a fluke in your opponent's case and a very difficult stroke, of course in your own way (laughter). Well, Gentlemen, that's precisely what the prosecution has done with the charges. It has hit hard and trusts you and the Judge for a score. Cut off so many sections one or two may manage to stick (laughter).

Two Main Offences.

The whole thing, so far as I understand, is that there are two main offences with which we are charged. The first offence is an agreement constituting criminal conspiracy and the second is the attempt to commit offence—(after interruption by the Court) agreement to commit a criminal offence which makes it a criminal conspiracy, and, secondly, to commit an action in pursuance of that conspiracy. There are the first two charges. Then comes the question of my statement, which was likely to seduce the troops from their loyalty. Then of course comes the abetment by the several co-accused. I am told the only thing that will so before you as Jury will be the attempt in pursuance of that conspiracy. But I will take up the first charge first—as regards an agreement. I am not quite sure whether any of you, Gentlemen, know that these sections, 120-A and 120-B, were added to the Penal Code not so very long ago, and I happened to be present in the Council meeting in which the Conspiracy Bill was passed. I was sitting in the Press gallery, during the lunch interval when my old friend, Sir William Vincent came into the hall of the Council. I was sitting with a distinguished Journalist

who has since become a Moderate leader and particular friend of Government. Sir William Vincent asked me jovially if we two were conspiring. I said to him—"For conspiring, an agreement is necessaay and as you know only too well I never agree with anybody (laughter)." And, Gentlemen of the Jury, truly enough, there has been no agreement. No evidence has been laid about agreement whether here or in the lower court. "It is a matter of presumption," says the Public Prosecutor. And it is really upon presumption that they are going to transport me for life to take me away from my family, to take me away from my girl, to take me away from my wife and aged mother—to take me away from my country which is still more important to me. And all this on a matter of 'presumption'. Not a single witness came in to say that there was even a discussion about it. I am not quite sure whether the Judge was filling the gaps in the evidence by asking us questions about this. Anyhow I said in reply that we never discussed the question about the troops. We are told by the prosecution that the accused knew more than the prosecution. I think that is perfectly true. As a matter of fact, the prosecution

knows so very little (laughter) and they pretend to increase their knowledge with the assistance of the invention of the Police (laughter). Yes, the accused knew what the prosecution does not. But have they not put all their cards on the table before the committing Magistrate?

Genesis of the Prosecution.

You, Gentlemen, have had a long recitation in this court when the Clerk of the Crown read my statement I made in the lower court. In that statement I showed very clearly the whole genesis of these prosecutions, and I hope you listened to it very carefully. It gives you the whole gen esis of this case. Well, I am supposed to be a very frank man—we are very frank people. *Ex-hypothesis*, you will take it that we are truthful people also. So far as any agreement to tell the Muslim troops in India—even what the law of Islam is—is concerned, there was none beyond this Resolution before you. But if to-day a man calls himself a Mussalman he is bound to abide by what is contained in the Quoran. If one single syllable of it I reject, I am not a Mussalman. I may be the worst sinner, I may be no matter however so sinful —I will still be so long as I do not reject any-

thing out of this book—a Mussalman. But the moment I reject this however pious or otherwise I may be, I am not a Mussalman and whatever is contained in the Quoran I am required by the same law of the Quoran to go and preach to everybody in the world—even to non-Moslems. Take the case of my revered friend here Maulana Hussain Ahmed Sahib. He has been teaching in Medina—he is the disciple of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan Saheb, the late Shaikhul Hind. It was from the Hejaz that he was arrested and taken to Egypt and then to Malta. He was teaching at Medina for ten years. He taught there the Prophet's traditions. Supposing he sits outside his house and he reads the Quoarn and he reads those very verses that whoever kills a Muslim wilfully will find his reward in Hell. He will abide there in ever. God's wrath will be for with him. God will curse him. And God had prepared for him a severe torment. Supposing when he was reciting this, a Muslim soldier was passing there. Will you say that Maulana Hussain Ahmed has committed a crime under section 505, Indian Penal Code ? If you will say this then why all this tall talk about toleration ? Or, suppose a Muslim sepoy comes to a moque; would the Maulana be

a criminal because he recited this verse in the service while that soldier was there? Take another case. A sepoy comes to him and says —"Maulana, I want to know what is the law of Islam: I am required to go to Mesopotamia to fight against the Khilafat, is it lawful for me to go there and fight against Mussalmans?" The Maulana says it is unlawful. If he says it is lawful then he becomes a Kafer. If he keeps silent God will curse him and the whole world will curse him. Therefore he will have to say—"No it is not lawful?" It is his duty as a religious teacher when a man comes in and asks him what is the Islamic law, to explain to him truly the law of Islam. But if he cannot for fear of the Penal Code tell the truth then the curse of God comes in.

The Quoran's Injunctions.

Take another case. The Maulana goes in a train and finds Moslems going to Mesopotomia to fight against other Mussalmans and the Khalifa or against people who are waging Jehad. The Maulana tells them—"It is unlawful; this is not allowed by Islam." The Prophet say "Do not become Kafars after me by killing each other". Will you give the Maulana no protection of the law? You may say—

Well, it is alright for him to say this in his prayer. And when somebody come and asks him what is the Islamic law, it is right for him to say so as a religious teacher. But it is not his duty to go to the house-top and proclaim it from there, then it would be seduction. Then it would come under section 505 and section 117, or, for the matter of that section 121-A or 121-B I say that even that is intolerance because the Quoran lays down clearly who will receive salvation and who will not. (Quotes from the Quoran). I am not quoting that small chapter of the Quoran in which God swears by the world's history. In that God says—"I swear by the world's history." I swear by all the time that has passed before that all are certainly in perdition but the faithful who will do good works and tell other people to do the right thing and to have fortitude in case they are not successful. The four conditions required for a Moslem to win salvation are contained in this the shortest chapter of the Quoran. A man's salvation depend upon these. That he must have faith. Then he must act upon that faith. Man who believes in Islam says his prayers, gives alms, fast in the Ramzan, goes to Mecca and does not hurt anybody. Do you think that he will

have salvation with only this? No because the Quoran says—the third step, too, you must take—that you must go and—preach those good things to everybody. You must go and propagate these doctrines. You are not born to save only yourself. You are here to save your neighbours as well. Therefore the three things that a Moslem must do are that he must believe, he must act according to his belief and he must also propagate that belief. If a Muslim says that he believes the killing another Muslim is *haram* and he goes and kills him, he may not win salvation. But he is nevertheless a Muslim if he really believes that he is a sinner. Of course if he denies that it is *haram*, he rights the Quoran and then he is *Karir*. But suppose he believes that it is *haram* and does not kill another Muslim, he may not yet win salvation if he sits idly and lets other kill him. But if he is not idle and goes and tells other people also that is *haram* then too he may win salvation unless he persists in his propaganda even his efforts fail. If he fails in his propaganda and he suffers because of section 505 and section 117 and is sent to jail, what is he to do? He must show fortitude. He may be hanged, he may be drawn, he may be quartered. But he must shew fortitude and

persevere in his mission. Then only will he win salvation and escape perdition. He must not try to change God's law by one single syllable. He must abide by it and face all the consequence.

Gentlemen, it is not an easy thing to go to Paradise and claim the embraces of the *Houris.* An Urdu poet says: "It is to step boldly towards the sacrificial altar of Love." People imagine it is easy to be a Musaalman. By clipping one's moustachs of growing a long beard and muttering prayers one does become a Muslim. He has got to do all those things; but he has got to do many other things besides, because we are required to do all these things by our religion. It is not enough that I should not go to war. I have got to go and induce other Muslims also not to go to war to fight their brothers.

I shall induce him in every possible way. I must take the rifle out of his hand but not by force, not by compulsion—but by clearly expounding our religious law. We are saved only when we have saved the people from going to fight and kill no other Mussalmans.

Who are Real "Seducers"?

Gentlemen, a military gentleman, like Colonel Gwyer in this case, went to Bombay. His name is Colonel Beach. On the 20th October, so a telegram in the *Pioneer* tell us, this gallant officer who had gone down from the Army Head Quarters, Simla, met the members of my profession—perhaps to seduce them from their duty (laughter)—Editors of local newspapers and news-agencies in a round table conference and among many other things this military officer said as follows with reference to the arrest of Ali Brothers, though the matter was still *sub-judice* and it seems to me that from the Viceroy down to this Military officer all at Simla are privileged to do that (laughter) (Reads from a paper). Referring to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, Colonel Beach, speaking as a soldier, said "that it would be worth while asking those who are trying to seduce soldiers to consider for a moment if a soldier who once turns as deserter would be loyal to any other cause to which he was won over." That was Colonel Beach speaking as he tells you as a soldier. Well done! Colonel Beach (laughter) A most sound doctrine and a remarkably good logic for a soldier (laughter)! But speaking not as a soldier but as a Mussalman, may I ask who

is the seducer? Every child born into this world is first a soldier of God and it is met like Colonel Beach and Colonel Gwyer who are the seducer that seduce him from his first duty and his sole allegiance. May we not equally ask these Beaches and Gwyers God's soldiers, who once turned deserters, would be loyal to them and to their use to which they had been won over? A man's first duty is to his God. The Quoran tells us that before man's souls were not into their bodies they were asked by God "Am I not your Lord", and they answered in unison "Aye", well, hang all the souls, Gentlemen. There was all the agreement that you need for a criminal conspiracy under section 120-A and 120-B (laughter). No, Gentlemen, it is your Beeches of the Army Head Quarters of Simla and your Gwyers of the Western Command that seduce soldiers from their duty. If you have any faith, if you have any belief in God then your first duty, your prior allegiance is to God. Is it not the duty of Christians who believe in Christ, is it not the belief of the Hindus—is it not a Hindu's first duty to obey Lord Krishna? Still we talk of allegiance to Kings, still we talk of loyalty! An Englishman—not a Mussalman—but a Christian,

Mr. H. G. Wells, wrote a book after the war, a sort of allegory of the whole British nation—I do not know whether any of you has read it. It is called "Mr. Brittling sees it through"—And what does he say? What does Mr. Brittling, who is supposed to be the average Englishman, see through the terrible war? He says that religion is the first thing and it is the last thing. A man who does not begin with it and who does not end with it has not lived true life, has not found the true meaning of life. His only allegiance—his only duty—is to God. He might have his craps of honour, he may have his fragments of loyalty, but when it comes to the rest of loyalty to God, allegiance to God, and these fragmentary loyalties, all these craps of honour,—they are like a mere scrap of paper passed through fire that shrivels up and is scattered to the four winds or merely blackens a man's hand as so much met. That is what an average Englishman as seen through this was publicly said. And it is after this war that God's law is to be brushed aside for us in India because man's law—Section 123-B & 131 & 505 & 117 are to prevail over God's law. When I have Swaraj I will see to it that I do not let any one seduce

my fellow-countrymen from their true loyalty. But so long as I want to reside in British India I claim the protection of the Queen's Proclametion. If I were a Hindu I would hvae said the same thing What was Christ supposed to have said—(interrupted) (The Court rose for the day in the midst of the sentence.)

Maulana Mahomed Ali—Well, Gentle men, the court stops me at 'Christ I shall tell you to-marrow what Christ is supposed to have said.

PROCEEDINGS OF 27TH OCTOBER.

Moulana Mahomed Ali, continuing his address to the Jury, said:—

Gentlemen of the Jury, I was explaining to you that the proclamation of the Queen made in 1858, confirmed by the late King Edward, in the Proclamation, made on the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's proclamation and also confirmed by letters addressed to the Princes and the people of India by King George after his accession to the throne gave the protection of the law to His Majesty's subjects in India with regard to their religious beliefs and religious practices, and I was telling you that that was the whole of our case. And that

whatever may be an offence according to the Penal Code, or for the matter of that any other code, if any person—be he Hindu or Mussalman or Christian—does a thing which his religion requires him to do, then even if that is an offence under the Penal Code or any other law that is enforced in British India, that law cannot stand in his way and he cannot be punished. The law gives him its protection, as stated in there three Proclamations. But it is not his sword that you are to take; he has got to prove it that his religion requires it. He has got to explain it. As I had told you yesterday, this trial is really a very important trial because, after all, the clear issue involved in it is whether God's law is to prevail or whether man's law is to override God's law—whether the Queen's proclamation has any value—whether the King's solemn pledge has any value or not, whether the Judge is bound by it—whether the Jury is bound by it or not. It will not be possible for me to explain my case when the Judge has summed up. I do not know how he is going to sum up. But it is on this point that the Judge's summing-up will be of importance. You cannot take the law either from the Public Prosecutor or from me. But you have got to take it from

the Judge. But, at the same time, I ask you to understand, Gentlemen of the Jury, that if you to-day deny a Hindu or a Mussalman or a Christian, his right to do his duty to God—to do what his Faith enjoins him to do under pains and penalties—though not of this world but of another, a future world—if you do not allow him to do what his religion demands of him to do, when I say, you yourselves will be a party to the destruction of the religious freedom enjoyed in this country and given by the Queen's Proclamation. It is not a question of a particular faith—it is not a question of the Hindu Faith or the Christian Faith or the Muslim Faith or the Jewish Faith. Every Faith, even that of sceptic—even that of an atheist—has to be protected—but the freedom of all these people will be taken away and I ask you—will you be a party to this? I was telling you yesterday what Mr. H. G. Wells has said in his book " God, the Invisible King" and also in another book of his a novel " The Soul of a Bishop." He writes—a saying has been attribed to the Master Jesus Christ—on whom let there be peace—"Render unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's and render unto God what is God's." And then he asks—who is this Cæsar that wants to share this

world with God? What is Cæsar's that is not at the same time God's? The world is not divided into two parts—one God's and the other Cæsar's. No? There are not the two Kings of Brentfort. God is the sole Ruler, And if the king or any other human creature, be he the head of a republic or the Judge or a member of the Jury demands from you anything he must demand for God and through God. If they demand from you anything which is against God, then that demand is not to be satisfied. It is God alone whose demand is to be satisfied. This, says Mr. H.G. Wells, is coming to be the universal Modern Religion. Whether it is that or not, it is certainly the religion for every Muslim. It is not a question of my individual faith—my own whims and idiosyncracies. I challenge the Government, I challenge the Public Prosecutor to produce any 'man in this trial to produce any man, to say any Mussalman who could say that, in spite of what God says, if the Government of the day says " you must not do this although his religion requires it," any Mussalman who could say well, in that case, I must follow the Government. And a Mussalman who says that, I say openly, is not a Mussalman. And I believe that this is also

true of the Hindus, Christians, Jews, true in the case of everyone who believes in God.

ABOUT THE AMIR OF AFGHANISAN

You have got to see to this that every Mussalman who lives in British India anywhere that a Moslem dwells he is under the protection of the Queen's proclamation. He is to follow the law of the land but without prejudice to his faith. When we were interned we said the same thing to the Viceroy as we are telling you now. When he wanted to release us from internment, but on certain conditions that we shall do this and not do the other, we said "we shall agree to those conditions without prejudice to our faith." Again as long ago as the 9th July, 1919, we sent a letter through the Superintendent of the Betul Jail where we were confined to the Viceroy. Therein we said but since Government is apparently uninformed about the member in which our Faith colour and is meant to colour all our nations including those which for the sake of convenience are generally characterised as mundane one, things must be made clear, and is this : Islam does not permit the believer to pronounce and adverse judgment against another believer without more convinc-

ing proof : and we could not of course fight against our Moslem brothers without making sure that they were guilty of wanton aggression and did not take up arms in defence of their faith." (This was in relation to the war that was going on between the British and the Afghan in 1919). "Now our position is this. Without better proof of the Ameer's malice or madness we certainly do not want Indian soldiers including the Mussalman, and particularly with our own encouragement and assistance to attack Afghanistan and effectively occupy it first and then be a prey to more perplexity and perturbation afterwards—these were Mr. Montagu's own words and leave it to us to add one more appeal to the many already made so frantically and so utterly helpless for the evacuation of Moslem territory and for sparing that remnants of the temporal power of Islam."

And we said—"This is only a repetition in brief of that which we have stated clearly enough and at considerable length in our representation of the 24th April to Your Excellency and for this we have ample authority in our religion." I pass on. "In the presence of the Magistrate and the Police

Officer who used to attend the Friday Service at the Mosque we more than once made that position clear. If, said we, His Majesty the Ameer desires to enlarge his dominions at the expense of our inoffensive country and seeks to subjugate its population that has never wished him till then we not only do not advocate assistance being given to him by Indian Mussalmans but we will most zealously advocate and lead the stoutest resistance against such wicked and wanton aggression. This is precisely what in September, 1917, we had told the Hon'ble the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad who had visited us at Chindwara and had referred to the possibility of foreign aggression; and he had thereupon wired to Simla to the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, apparently for communication to the Government, that he was entirely satisfied about our political attitude. We do not want a change of masters but we do want the speedy establishment of a Government responsible to the united people of India, and we hoped we have made the matter clear beyond the possibility of any doubt or misunderstanding."

"But if, on the contrary, His Majesty the Ameer has no quarrel with India and her

people and if his motive must be attributed, as the Secretary of State has publicly said, to the unrest which exists throughout the Mahomedan world, an unrest with which he openly professed to be in cordial sympathy,—that is to say, if impelled by the same religious motive that has forced us to contemplate Hijrat, the alternative of the weak, which is all that is within our restricted means. His Majesty has been forced to contemplate Jehad, the alternative of those comparatively stronger, which he may have found within his means if he has taken up the challenge of those who believe in force and yet more force, and he intends to try conclusions with those who require Mussalmans to wage war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jehad; who are in wrongful occupation of the Jazirut-ul-Arab and the Holy Places; who aim at the weakening of Islam; discriminate against it; and deny to us full freedom to advocate its cause; then the clear law of Islam requires that, in the first place, in no case whatever should a Mussalman render any one any assistance against him; and, in the next place, if the Jehad approaches any region every Mussalman in that region must join the Mujahidin and siasst them to the best of his or her power."

"Such is the clear and undisputed law of Islam; and we had explained this to the Committee investigating our case when it had put to us a question about the religious duty of a Moslem subject of a non-Moslem Power when Jehad had been declared against it long before there was any motion of trouble on the Frontier, and when the late Ameer was still alive."

A Mussalman's Faith—What It Is.

"One thing more has to be made more clear as we have since discovered that the doctrine to which we shall now advert is not so generally known in non-Moslem and particularly in official circle as it ought to be. A Mussalman's faith does not consist merely in believing in a set of doctrines and living up to that belief himself, he must also exhort himself to the fullest extent of his power, of course without resort to any compulsion, to the end that others also conform to the prescribed beliefs and practices. This is spoken of in the Holy Quoran as *Amr Bjl Maroof Nahi Anilmunkar* and certain distinct chapters of the Holy Prophets. Traditions relate to this essential doctrine of Islam. A Mussalman cannot say I am not my brother's keeper for, in a sense, he

is and his own salvation cannot be assured to him unless he exhorts others also to do good and exhorts them against doing evil. If, therefore, any Mussalman is being compelled to wage war against the Mujahid of Islam, he must not only be a conscientious objector himself, but must, if he values his own salvation, persuade his brothers also, at whatever risk to himself, to take similar objection. Then and not until then can he hope for salvation. This is our belief as well as the belief of every other Mussalmans, and in our humble way we seek to live up to it and if we are denied freedom to inculcate this doctrine we must conclude that the land where this freedom does not exist is not safe for Islam."

Now, this was the first charge we had brought against the Government. During the war Mussalmans have been required *in defiance of their religious obligations* (mark the word gentlemen) to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in ehad and what do you think the Viceroy did? He did not hang us under section 121, waging war against the king. He did not transport us for life under section 131. He simply got us out of internment and arranged that I should go to England and explain the

same Islamic Law there to the Prime Minister and to other members of the Cabinet. But for the same we are now being tried for criminal conspiracy. What is the special offence in our case? What becomes of the case against the thousands and hundreds of thousands millions of people—who are saying the same thing to-day. Why are not they with us? I have complained about the misjoinder of charges because too many accused are tried for too many offences. But you have not room enough in this Hall. nay in any hall to try each and every one of those together who say that it is his belief too—that it is his *Dharma* also. As I have said so often it is not a question of individual belief—it is not a question of my own individual belief—I who lived with Englishmen, who went to England to be educated at Oxford—I who was most friendly with the English people even—I have got to say it because it is a religious duty—even I have got to say that no Mussalman should serve in the British Army where he is forced to kill his own brethren for the advancement of unrighteousness. I said it then, and I say it now, that it is religiously unlawful. I said it then, I say it now, and I shall say it all the time. It does not matter if I am hanged for

it and I hope when I am dead and gone my carcasses will shout from the grave that it is the Faith of the Moslems.

The Court here interrupted the Maulana saying something to the effect that he would not allow discourse on religious matters there.

M. M. Ali—Will you not permit me to refer to the law of the Quoran? My Quoran says this is the law. May I have it from you authoritatively that the law for a Muslim is not his Quoran.

The Court—The law of the Quoran is not the law of the country.

M. M. Ali—I plead justification for what I did. I am simply stating that my Quoran enjoins on me to do what I have done.

The Court—That is not the law of the land.

M. M. Ali—What I am concerned with is this, that my law is to be the first law binding on me and I say that these three Proclamations give me protection.

The Court—I rule that against you.

M. M. Ali—I am very glad that you rule that against me. Not only has the Judge ruled against the king, but recently in the Legislative Assemly a Moslem Member proposed a Resolution recommending to the Government that no servant of the Govern-

ment and particularly no Mahomedan soldier should be asked to go against the law of his religion, and what did the Viceroy do? He disallowed the Resolution.

The First Charge.

However, I now come to the first charge against us on which you have to sit here merely as Assessors. But in any case I can address you, Gentlemen, though I have now to address you as Assessors. You have been told and have seen for yourselves that not a single witness was put into the box to prove that there was at any time any agreement. My friend here asked you to take that on presumption. What presumption? Are you going to hang us merely for this presumption, for which there is not the slightest piece of evidence—absolutely none?

No man—not a single witness—has said that he ever saw us, heard us or suspected us to be conspiring, agreeing to commit any offence. I was in England in the month of February, 1920, and probably on the very day I was interviewing the Officiating Secretary of State when a Conference was held in Calcutta, at which certain Resolutions were passed. That was evidence against me. But I do not mind

that. The Public Prosecutor no doubt read out section 10 of the Evidence Act to you. That section tells you, he said, that it is admissible as evidence against me. But my very amiable friend there (pointing to the P. P.) wants you to do something more. He is a very clever gentleman. But I knew what he was aiming at. He said it was evidence admissible against me, but he meant not only that, but that you ought to accept everything as gospel truth. He asks you to simply believe every bit of evidence as true and, what is more, presume everything else required to prove the criminal conspiracy. Presumption has to do duty for proof and any evidence is sufficient to transport us for life. Gentlemen, I may tell you that I know nothing about the conspiracy,and when my brother went to Assam I did not know. I did not know of it until the Public Prosecutor got up and said that he would bring in a witness to prove this. It was for the first time I learned that my brother had gone there. The rascal! He goes there without my knowledge and I am to be transported for life. That is the worst of being a younger brother (laughter). But even that is no proof of agreement to commit a criminal offence. You cannot presume that. It must be

proved and proved without the shadow of doubt. As for the Karachi Conference my brother could have got off on the score of not having spoken. But the Public Prosecutor can fill that gap too. In Australia, there was a farmer who had a son—and I am afraid—not a very clever son. People heartlessly even called him a fool and wherever his father took him through his folly, the father got into a sort of disgrace. Once the father was invited to a feast and the son wanted to go too. But the father refused. He was afraid that his son would speak and would be found to be a fool and he would be once more disgraced. The son then promised that he would not utter a single syllable. And so his father at last consented to take the fool to the feast. The son went there and sat in a snug corner. Several persons put him several questions but the son did not, as he had promised his father, utter a single syllable in reply. So when a man putting him another question one of the guests said, "what is the use of asking this man any question. Can't you see that he is a fool?" The son immediately shouted out at the top of his voice addressing his father who was at the other end of the table,—" Father, father, they have found

it out. But I did not speak (laughter) so the Public Prosecutor too has found it out that my brother was a conspirator at the Karachi Conference though he did not speak" (laughter).

No Agreement Necessary.

The P P. has said that we are earnest people. By the same token, Gentlemen, we are truthful people. And although I am not a witness deposing on oath I say it solemnly—and you and the Judge have to take my words for it—that there was never at any time any discussion among ourselves about the declaration of Islamic Law regarding the Moslem troops serving in the British Army. The Judge put me this question and I said that there was no discussion at any time. Why should there be a discussion about it at all? Supposing tomorrow we hold a conference of the Muslims assembled together in Karachi and declare that there is no God but one God and Mohamed is his Prophet. Do you think it will be necessary for us to sit together and come to an agreement? The moment that I say I am a Mussalman there is that agreement. But there cannot be any time limit to it. It cannot be only between February, 1920, and September, 1921, (of course you know the

addition to the period of the charge) was the particular gift of my little friend there (pointing to Mr. Ross Alston). There was no mention of 1920 before the Committing Magistrate. This is slight alteration that my slight friend has made to the charge which means twelve months more added to the period of the charge of conspiracy against us. So, believe me, there was no agreement except the agreement that we are Mussalmans. Every Mussalman the moment he says that he is a Muslim and accepts the example and the precepts of our Prophet Hazrat Mohamed—God's peace and benedictions be upon him—that very moment he agrees to this also that it is unlawful to enlist or remain in an army which must wage war against and kill Mussalmans without just cause. And as to the Resolution passed at the Conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema—it was nothing new that they resolved and declared. What discussion or agreement was required for the Ulema to declare the well-known Law of Islam against the killing of Mussalmans or to sign a *Fatwa* or juidical pronouncement? Similarly what discussion or agreement did the two Mussalmans who are our co-accused need before speaking on the Resolution here? They were asked to declare the Shariat and

they did it. What related to the army was not a Resolution but a *declaration* of law.

Hostile Action Against Angora Government.

But there was a Resolution too, a solemn resolve and determination that if the British Government, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, takes any hostile action against the Government of Angora the Mussalmans of India would be obliged to take to Civil Disobedience in concert with the Congress and to make a declaration at the forthcoming Congress at Ahmedabad in December of Indian Independence and of the establishment of a Republic. Gentlemen, we had provided not only for open hostile action against Angora on the part of the British but also for secret action—not only for direct British action but also for indirect action through the Greeks. Yes, we know only too well the English diplomacy. At Oxford they define Association and Rugby Football in this manner. "Soccar" is a game in which you kick the man if you can't kick the ball. In "Rugger" you kick the ball if you can't kick the man (laughter). In England they want to down every other Nation and particularly the Turks. But the rule

like "Rugger" is that they will fight themselves only if they can't get another to fight their battle. (Renewed laughter). Gentlemen, we said that in the event of a reopening of hostilities against the Angora Government it will be our duty in concert with the Indian National Congress—in concert with our fellow-countrymen—to start Civil Disobedience, and that if this sort of thing goes on it will be our duty—a duty of tremendous responsibility, we did not consider it to be a light matter, it was a heavy responsibility that we determined to take, the responsibility of declaring Absolute Freedom and Independence of India—to establish an Independent Republic of India. This was not said in a light vein as a jest or mere bluff. This was a very serious matter, indeed. We know what we were about. Every mother's son of us may be hanged for it. We could have been shot down instead of being brought down to this hall and having this farce of a trial—the Judge and the Jury and all this paraphernalia. Instead of this lengthy circuitous route, there could be a short-cut—no prosecution, no Judge, no Jury, but only a firing party at dawn, led by Col. Gwyer or Col. Beach and a chatter of rifles, and there would be an end of the matter. However, we

did declare this; and in consideration of that grave matter, we determined that, in concert with our fellow-countrymen we would do either of these two things or both. The prosecution, however, is not for that. It is for the earlier portion of the Resolution, which is cited in the order of Government sanctioning the prosecution. But the previous portion of the Resolution is not stated in its entirety. That Resolution says: "This meeting further plainly declares that according to the Islamic Shariat it is strictly forbidden to serve or enlist in the British Army or to raise recruits. Therefore the charge is that we declared the law of Islam, and the mere declaration of the law of Muslims, if it is an offence then, Gentlemen, say so. In that case if you declare the laws of Christianity, that too,is an offence. The Hindus following their own religious injunctions declare the Hindu law—that is also an offence. Therefore a number of men who demand from an Indian soldier that he must not kill a cow will be guilty of agreement to commit a criminal offence—that is to say, they will be guilty of criminal conspiracy. Now I say if this declaration is an agreement, if to declare the laws of Islam is an offence and we are guilty then say so, Gentlemen. But this is a matter

which the Judge has got to decide only, you will have to give your opinion as Assessors, and it would rest with him whether he takes your advice or not. There is an Arabic proverb which says "always consult your wife but do what you think best" (laughter). I think that is law in regard to Assessors also (laughter)—always consult your wife, *i.e.*, the assessors but do what you (the Judge) think best (laughter). Gentlemen, bigamy for an Englishman or a Christian is a crime and even a Mussalman can have only four wives. But the Judge has in this case five wives that are to be consulted (laughter). But the Judge will do what he thinks best. I will still appeal to the Judge because he too has a soul to be saved like ours. I make no appeal to him for my own sake. I do not even appeal to the Jury for myself. I appeal to them for their own sakes and have said to them whatever I had got to say in the matter. You will only decide upon the facts before you and let no man say that any outside influence was brought to bear upon your decision.

CHARGE OF ATTEMPTING TO SEDUCE.

Now, I come to the charge which is before you as Jury. You are the sole Judge here. You are "Monarchs of all you survey" here.

I would not like you to disagree in your finding. I hope you will agree whether your verdict be for us or whether you come to a finding against us. But let there be an agreement. Let it not be said that the Hindu Jurors came to this finding and the Christian Jurors came to that; let it not be said that the gentlemen working in the Greek firm of Ralli Brothers gave this verdict and the gentlemen from Forbes and Campbell gave that verdict. You should be united. I prefer that you should be united in a matter of grave import like this. Let yourselves be guided by your own conscience, because that is, after all, the basic law of all Faiths. You must do the right, you must act according to your conscience. Now, on this matter, I may again tell you. You are the sole monarch and the charge on which you are to give your verdict is the matter of "attempt," that is, under section 131 (reads the section). "Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier or sailor in the army or the navy of the Queen or attempts"—that's what we are charged with "to seduce any such officer, soldier or sailor from his duty" —I leave out the allegiance with which we are not charged—"shall be punished etc., etc."

The Court—You are charged with being members of a conspiracy, which attempted to seduce the troops.

M. M. Ali—We are charged with being members of a conspiracy, that is to say, charged with having agreed to commit a criminal offence, and in pursuance of that conspiracy, somebody within this conspiracy, some fellow-conspirators attempted these things. It does not matter whether we ourselves have attempted or some other persons have attempted. True! Well, Mr. Ross Alston of Allahabad, (the Advocate-General of the United Provinces assisting the Public Prosecutor) gets somebody in Allahabad who gets something printed somewhere, and gets that someone to reproduce something from the Ulema *Fatwa* though he is perfectly ignorant of the Quoran. All this has to be carefully done. He gets an ignorant Maulvi to copy —every Mussalman fears and trembles when he has got to copy anything from the Quoran, lest he writes something different and attributes it to God falsely—the Maulvi copies it, gets it published for Mr. Ross Alston, gets it printed in Allahabad or in Lahore, he gets the same kind of envelopes, the letters are posted from different places but mostly from

Allahabad where Mr. Ross Alston comes from (laughter). And you have got to transport me for life for this! This is the thing which we are supposed to have done. What is the proof? He (the Public Prosecutor) says this is the proof. A poet says: "The appearance of the sun is itself the proof of the sun." So in this case too what further proof is needed? Well the *charge* is that these leaflets were sent to Moslem soldiers, that they were posted mostly from Allahabad. Because some were posted from Cawnpore where Maulana Nasar Ahmad Saheb, one of the accused, comes from. The Public Prosecutor attributed them to him and to us—well, Allahabad is the place where Mr. Ross Alston comes from; the place from which two C. I. D. officers who have deposed against us come—well from that can you not have this presumption that it is Mr. Ross Alston who did it? (Laughter) Well, if this thing (showing the leaflet) is sent round is that by itself sufficient for you as men of any sense—you who are practical businessmen, is it sufficient for you to transport me for my life—to take me away from my children—to take me away from my wife, to take me away from my mother—to take me away from my country

which is dear to me—to take me away from God's work simply because they were posted mostly from Allahabad? Is that or not the whole offence? Read it for yourselves. Search for it in the entire record of evidence. If you are conscientious your judgment must be right. You who are conscientious men—you who cannot kill a gnat for nothing—you are going to transport six men for life—not six men, for at least we find we are to be seven—our revered friend Jagat Guru Shri Sankaracharya will also go with us Mussalmans, because, if there was no evidence against him, it was amply made up, after all, by the wrath of the perfectly peaceful Public Prosecutor. You saw that barerarkage yourself not, of course, a real storm, mind you, from such a gentle gentleman but a fairly good and imitation of one—a thing of the proscenium—something just realistic enough to give us the impression that there was a storm at last with lightning and thunder, hail and wind—all this came from my peaceful and amiable friend there (laughter). Are you going to commit all of us on the proof that there are certain envelopes and certain officers from the army received them—Officers. Euphemism could go no further. Yes, Officers, if courage in battle

and length of service and medals and those real medals not of silver hanging on their breasts, but medals of lead bullets that found billets in their bodies and their breasts so far as they are concerned, really and truly Officers, but yet men who have got, even as veterans and heroes of a hundred battle plains, to salute the merest white tyro, the merest callow youth with hardly a moustache on his upper lip only girlish peach-down because they themselves are brown and black. These are the people who come before you. They come and present before you these things, and say a most terrible thing that had happened. One verse—one incorrectly transcribed verse from the Quoran was sent to us, and even without opening these envelopes we scented that they were smelling of gunpowder—smelling of 1857. We rushed to our Officer Commanding and said, "Sir,—Save us from Islam". Our feelings are hurt, our religious feelings are hurt. We are being reminded of our religion. We are being reminded of our God! For God's sake, protect us from God. Does not the Queen's Proclamation gave us protection? We are being bombarded with the quotations from Quoran! We can stand all bombardments but not this." And it is on this evi-

dence that we are going to be transported for life!

But, Gentlemen of the Jury, I do not want you to save me, I want you to be saved yourselves. This is the only evidence and nothing more, not a jot or little more than this. If there was any, our friend (the Public Prosecutor) would have told you. He has got to transport seven for life—a large and long transportation indeed! He took four hours in addressing you—practically a whole day, and thereby earned a day's fee, although his daily fee is perhaps greater than the monthly salaries of all of you combined (interrupted.)

The court—You have no right to make a personal remark. Is it not in bad taste? I know that you don't mean it.

M. M. Ali—I am sorry. But to what do you object? To the reference to the small salary of the Jurors or the fat fee of the Public Prosecutor and of his little friend?

The court—To any personal remark it is not in good taste. Is it?

M. M. Ali—I shall not refer to it again but I thought I might be permitted to commit just one offence even against good taste when I have committed so many against your Penal Code (laughter).

(The court remarked something which was inaudible).

Maulana Mahomed Ali, continuing, said—Well, Gentlemen, this is the main thing for which you have been sworn in as a Jury and taken away from your work—five of you. Well wherever you may come from, from Ralli Brothers, or Forbes, Forbes and Campbell or the Customs House, you are here for that purpose; otherwise only two gentlemen might have been brought in as assessors as wives of the Judge (laughter). In this case you are both the husband as well as the wife (laughter). You are self-sufficient. You are the sole judge here as a Jury though there are several other charges—there are sections more than one can number—there are sections 120-B, 117, 505 and so on—for which you act only as assessors. As you may remember, when the Policemen asked me when I was being brought to Karachi under what sections I was charged and I told him of all the charges and he said—well, they are all home-made section (laughter) and they can apply as many as they like. So this is the only Jury charge—sections 120-B reads with section 131. The is as regards the leaflet containing an extract from the *Fatwa*. It is the Jamiat-ul-Ulema that signed

this *Fatwa*. We are supposed to be very frank people; so we said this in the lower court as well as in this court that we were glad that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema were at last doing their duty. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema is supposed to be a party to this conspiracy. But the Government is very moderate. It has picked out only three Ulemas for this trial. The Government is astonished at its own moderation as Lord Clive said of his own loot: "I am astonished at my own moderation". Out of the 500 Ulemas who signed the Fatwa only two or three have been brought here. Well, why have not the others been prosecuted? I thought that the Ulemas who had done this would have been here. It is for the first time in my life that I saw this leaflet here. In fact it was for the first time in my life a little while ago that I came to know of this *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema on this matter, though I knew of their Resolution in their Conference at Delhi. However, it does not matter if I did not know the others who conspired with me. That is no protection for me. And I do not seek any. But in this case of attempt in pursuance of the conspiracy I thought the clear conspirators were the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Whatever the conspiracy

is, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema is a party to it and I said that at last the association of the Ulema was doing its religious duty. But I was immediately corrected by my friend brother-in-law and legal adviser though not my legal representative in this case Mr. Kuhzzam Ali. He said—no, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema too deny the distribution and printing of these leaflets. So I turned round in the lower court—'well, I am not correct myself but I hope they will soon correct the forgery into a fact.'

But it is the fact, Gentlemen, that you have got to deal with and not with the forgery. Is it a fact that anybody is a member of the conspiracy who does this? This is a presumption and not a fact. Well, Gentlemen, clear your heads of this of all these cobwebs woven by the Public Prosecutor. It is nothing but throwing dust—good old Karachi dust (laughter) in your eyes. Nothing more than that.

Section 505.

I now come to section 505. About the abetment of this I have not got to say anything. I have got to deal only with myself in my own individual capacity with regard to section 505, because I am the biggest offender in the matter and the others are

only abettors under section 109. It says "whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report (*a*) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine, or the Imperial Service Troops to Mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such shall be punished, etc., etc."

This is wider than section 131, Gentlemen, for I may not even preach to the Imperial Service Troops of my own State of Rampur about their religious duty. What would my grandfather who was the right-hand man, as Government itself testified of his master, the then Nawab Saheb of Rampur in 1857 and saved hundreds of Englishmen and English women at the risk of his own life and saved the U.P. Government have thought of this prosecution of his grandsons for declaring to the Rampur Pathans the law of Islam about sparing the lives of Mussalmans. But that is another story. Well, Gentlemen, Colonel Beach of the Army Head Quarters, Simla, and Lord Macaulay have given me my cue (reads)—"With intent to cause or which is likely to cause soldiers to disregard or fail in their duty as such."

But what is their duty—the first duty of these soldiers which they must not disregard or fail in? When a child is born in a family —if there is any Faith in that family—the nurse should say not that a boy or a girl is born, but that a new recruit is born in the army of God. That child must be the soldier of God. That's why the primeval souls were asked this question by God—"Am I not your lord?" and they said yes. Gentlemen, I am tempted to recite a verse—a verse of my own—a poor thing but mine own—As Touchstone said, 'Cinna the poet was killed for Cinna the conspirator, when Cæsar was murdered and the crowds had become mad through Mark Antony's rhetoric. They killed him as a conspirator.' He said No, no, "I am not Cinna, the conspirator, I am Cinna the poet." But they said 'Then kill him for his bad verses.' (Laughter). Gentlemen, do not transport me for life for my bad verses. I address my own fellow-countrymen, my own co-religionists, and I say to them you are being reminded of your duty, you are being reminded of your allegiance, you are being reminded of your loyalty, you are being reminded of the pledge that you have given to Government before your God and men, you

are being reminded of your honour and you are asked to be faithful. (Recites a verse in Arabic) "Kindly carry out that first pledge also, the pledge that you gave to God while you are about it. You are loyal people. A little more loyalty will not be amiss. Can I not say to the Judge, can I not say to the Jury if these people are not true to their God, can they be true to their King?' (Pin-drop silence prevails in the house)—the God, that gave them, everything, life, honour, Faith, loyalty itself the God that has given them the king? If they are not true to their God, they cannot be true to their king. I say God before everything—God before loyalty—God before king—God before partiotism—God before my country—God before my father, mother and child. That is my faith. Hang me if you like. But having done that, Gentlemen, you may commit suicide yourself also, because then you would have murdered your own souls. You may walk and sit and stand and work. But your bodies would only be moving carcases without souls, fit carrion to provide food for the crows.

Gentlemen, it is the Government it is they who want to seduce God's soldiers. We want to bring them back to their pristine loyalty.

The law says that in any case there is an exception (reads) "It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable ground for believing that such statement, rumour or report is true."

The Court—Read out the whole section, Mr. Mahomed Ali.

M. M. Ali—I will, Sir, I will not leave out one jot or tittle. The Government will have its pound of flesh. In the case of Shylock, they allowed him only the flesh; but they would not let him to take a drop of Christian blood. But you can take that too from me, full measures and overflowing. That exception requires that you establish the truth of the statement or reasonable grounds for your belief in its truth and that you made it without any such content as aforesaid. There is no God but the one God and Mahomed is His Prophet. Is that my statement? No, it is the creed of all Mussalmans. It cannot be an offence to declare that creed even if it is likely to "seduce" a man from his allegiance to a king or Government that demands obedience from his in matters involving disobedience to God. Is it an offence to say so?

THE NEXT OFFENCE.

The next offence is asking ten persons or more to commit a similar offence. But for that too the first question is the question of statement. Whose statement? It is not my statement; it is the statement of God! It is a declaration based on the Law of the Quoran It is well-known to every Mussalman who understands the Quoran. It is not a matter of my own opinion. Let me transport you before I am transported, say to a place where Arabic is understood, say to Aden. If a Somali or Arab soldier who understands the Quoran in Arabic, hears Maulana Hossain Ahmed Saheb who was a teacher in Arabia reciting verses from the Quoran against the killing of Muslims or supposing, as I said yesterday, a man comes and tells him he is ordered to Mesopotamia to fight against the Moslems and asks him about the true religious law and if the Maulana says it is religiously unlawful for a Muslim to fight another Muslim—would it come under the law? It is a statement; but not his own. It is God's; and it is true. Supposing the Government wants a Hindu to kill a cow and some Brahmin tells him that the cow is a sacred animal, it has got to be protected—it is the mother of millions of orphans and feeds

us all—it is a symbol of innocence and of helplessness among God's creatures needing our chivalrous protection—you have got to protect it. Is the Brahmin guilty of an offence to seduce that Hindu from doing his duty even though the Army Commander needs that cow for the army's food? I challenge the Army Commander or, for the matter of that, the Commander-in-Chief, to say that it is the duty of a Mussalman soldier or a Hindu soldier to go against his Faith in spite of the fact that the Viceroy has disallowed the Resolution to be moved in the Legislative Assembly—the Council which I was invited to be in? The "*Pioneer*" said—"You can influence people. You have such wonderful influence over the people—you have got such talents—you have got the wonderful gift of attracting the masses —will you not come to the Council?" I said in a speech of mine, which is the subject of another prosecution,—I said that I cannot, because whoever goes to the Council has got to pass through the "Crawling Lane" on his belly and the guard of honour is provided by our sisters of Jalianwala whom a cowardly British bully sought to dishonour.

The court—(Inaudible). What is your point?

M. M. Ali—To that assembly I was invited to go where no one is allowed to move a Resolution like the one disallowed by the Viceroy, that no man, no Mussalman, in the Government service, particularly in the Army, shall be compelled to go against his religion. (Reads the form to be filled up by a soldier before he is enlisted). (The Judge interrupted the Maulana again and asked what he wanted to prove.)

M. M. Ali—I want to show what the man is required to do when he joins the Army, what is and what is not his duty as a soldier. (Reads). Mark, Gentlemen, the question is—"Are you willing to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with your military duty ?"—there is no question of the man—"Will you do anything which is against your Faith" or "Will you have any objection when you will be asked to commit a sin," or "are you willing to go to Hell by land or by sea ?" (laughter). There is no question like that. The Public Prosecutor asked me,—he said to me—if somebody believes in human sacrifice and when your child is demanded you will be the first to seek the protection of the law. In any case, as a non-co-operator these days, I do not want to seek the

protection of his law! Neither do I believe that there is any sect that can demand such a sacrifice from other people. The only sect that can demand human secrifice of other people's children is the sect of the Militarists, They demand it—their Moloch of greed demands it —their Moloch of Imperialism demands it—their greed for dominion demands it—they want that on the high seas on God's big broad oceans, whenever a foreign ship passes one of theirs it should dip its flag in recognition of the boast that England is 'the mistress of the seas'. It is these people who want such human sacrifice.

Breeze in Court.

The Judge asked me—"But what about the thief? Do you want that the thief's hand should be cut off? I said, if the Government was an Islamic Government I would require this of it. I would have the adulterer stoned to death too, though adultery is no offence in English law. My bargain as a Muslim with an Islamic Government is different from my bargain as a Muslim with a non-Muslim Government. From non-Muslims I do not require that they should do anything for me, except permit me to hold my own religions

opinions and act up to them with impunity. My religion can impose its obligations only upon me and not upon others. There is an obligation upon me to tell God's own truth that it is religiously forbidden to join the British Army and to fight a Muslim without a just cause, and that it is unjust to kill a brother-Muslim at the bidding of the Government, which is next to infidelity. The Prophet said—the last thing that he said collecting all the people who had gone to the pilgrimage together—some 175 thousand people assembled together at Mina, and the Prophet asked—" What day is it?"—

The court—I would ask you to stop. Never mind about the Prophet.

M. M. Ali—(Indignantly) I must mind Prophet, I think you should withdraw that.

M. S. Ali—Blasphemy and impertinence!

M. M. Ali—You must withdraw that. You must make amends. I have got to mind about the Prophet. I have to take a man's life who insults that Prophet.

The court—You must stop. You cannot go on.

M. M. Ali—I am doing what the law allows me. The law says that I am not to seduce

troops from their duty. I say it is not a part of a Muslim soldier's duty to kill a Muslim brother. And I am here entitled to argue this till eternity. So long as I want to explain my position I have this right. Take away this right and end this farce. What's the use of the farce. Take out a shooting and shoot us out of hand, or if you prefer to keep up this farce of a trial, try us after our death as Lord Nelson once did. I say that no man is required to go against his religion—military duty does not inculcate this.

The court—It is irrelevant.

M. M. Ali—I am explaining what my religion says—I have given it in my statement in the lower court. It is perfectly relevant.

The court—Sit down.

M. M. Ali—I have not yet done with section 505 and have not even touched the charge under section 117 against me. I have not said one word about that. Am I to be punished without saying one word about it.

The court—I will not give you a right of speech.

M. M. Ali—Will you show me a single sentence in your law books that the Judge has the power to take away that right? You have

already taken away one of my riyhts by not allowing me to make a statement before the prosecution addressed the Jury. Your own Bombay High Court says, that and the Public Prosecutor agrees, I do not know if the Judicial Commissioner of Sindh has laid down another law. Now you are going to stop me again from addressing the Jury. You can object to a particular part of my address. You can say, "do not say this." But I cannot understand how you can stop me altogether by saying that you will not allow me to say anything more. (The court kept on saying "sit down," "I won't hear you.")

M. M. Ali—I am explaining that it is not the law, that it is no part of a Muslim's duty to go against his religion. Have I not got to prove that this statement, contained in the Resolution, is a true statement and not a false statement? Is it relevant or not?—I ask.

The court—Entirely irrelevant.

M. M. Ali—Entirely irrelevant; therefore, I have got to argue about that.

The court—I have allowed you to argue.

M. M. Ali—The trouble is that you are intervening too much. I say that first of all I do not come under this section. I have got

to prove what my Faith is, and that it is not the soldier's duty as such to go against his Faith. I have got to prove why the declaration was made. And I have to prove that that declaration is a true statement.

The court—It is not relevant.

M. M. Ali—Do you think that you are authorised by law to take that right from me? The law says it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of the section. (Reads the first part of the exception again.)

The court—"And"

M. M. Ali—Never mind about "and"—I am arguing that it is a true statement, I am not yet arguing about the intention.

The court—I do not want to hear you.

M. M. Ali—It is for the Assessors at any rate, you cannot take away the Assessors 'right.' They will have to give their opinion about this whether I am guilty or not. It is according to law. And the law says this (reads again). I cannot take your word for it. I cannot really. I cannot at any man's word act against the clear provision of the law.

The court—Argue your case,

M. M. Ali—It is not *your* case that I am arguing: (laughter). Well, Gentlemen of the Jury.

The court—I do not want to hear you.

M. M. Ali—You may not hear me as you have done on many other occasions. You have slept through a great deal of evidence that was being read out. You may sleep now. But I have got to address the Jury.

The court—(With apparent anger) Will you sit down?

M. M. Ali—If I dont?

The court—I shall put you in custody.

M. M. Ali—Do.

(The Superintendent of Police was here called to make the accused sit down but retired without touching him, leaving him standing.)

(The court directed the Sheristadar to call accused No. 2, Maulana Hossain Ahmad, the Sheristadar, approaching, called out but Maulana Hossain Ahmad did not utter a single word or budge an inch.)

M. M. Ali—(Not minding this interruption) Now, Gentlemen of the Jury—

The court—-Do not interrupt the court.

M. M. Ali—I am not interrupting the court. Rather you are interrupting me, I have

got to argue regarding this exception. I have got to deal with this. Take away the charges under sections 505 and 117 against me if you can and I shall stop. You have got the power to amend the charges up to the last.

The court—I cannot allow you to discuss religious law here.

M. M. Ali—There is no question of religious law. I am arguing about the law of the land as you call it. I have got to show to the Assessors that this declaration of statement contained in the Resolution is true because it is based on the Quoran and the Hadis.

The court—There is no necessity of it.

M. M. Ali—The necessity of it is what I have got to consider myself not you. You had no right to stop the prosecution witnesses. You could not have stopped them unless you said that their evidence was inadmissible. You did not stop the Public Prosecutor. He was to prove what he thought was necessary. But you will allow me to prove what I think necessary, to prove that it is a true statement of Muslim Law that I laid down, that it is harm to serve in the Army, I have got to prove that from the Quoran and Hadis, material or immaterial, I have got to do it and I am to do it from the

Islamic Law. I have got to take my law from the Qucran and the king. The king gives me protection for following the Quoran's Law in those Proclamations. That is the King's Law. If you do not obey that, then why is the king's portrait over there (pointing to the portrait of King Edward, hung upon the wall.) I have got to take my law from you, you have got to take the Law from the king. I have got my statement, based on this king's law, I do not want to create a scene, I am not here for that purpose, I have shown respect to you even though I could not shew any respect to the court as part of the Government. I don't want to be obstinate and cheeky. But I cannot have my right brushed aside.

The court—But you take so much time.

M. M. Ali—Yesterday you sent me word that you will give me half an hour more to-day to discuss supremacy of religious law before I come to the legal points and the facts of the case. I have already finished with that. I say that religious law was to be an exception in every case. Now, dealing with the law of the land, section 505, I have got to prove that that declaration in the resolution that it is religiously forbidden to serve in the

army is a true statement and, therefore I come under the exception to section 505.

The court—Suppose it is accepted that it is a true statement ?

M. M. All—Let the Assessors accept it. Let them give it to me in writing. Will they give it to me that this is considered to be proved ? Tell me that this is proved, that my statement is true. I will go on. Then I will not argue one word more about it. Ask the Public Prosecutor whether I have got the right or not.

The Public Prosecutor—We admit that the passages cited in this statement before the lower court are in the Quoran.

M. M. All—I want you to admit more than that. I want you to admit that this statement for which I am charged under section 505 is in accordance with the Quoran and the Hadis.

P. P.—We can't admit that.

M. M. Ali—If you won't admit I have got to prove it. Supposing a Christian is charged with making a statement of his belief in God, the Father God, the Son of God and the Holy Ghost. He says that he has got to prove that that is the Christian belief and is a true statement. He says

"I will show it from the Bible. I will show it from the Epistles—I will show it from the Gospels—I will show it from the Prayer Book." Will he not be entitled to judge—do you do that? Will I a Mussalman be fair to think that it will be fair of me not to allow him to prove that this is a correct statement of the Christian Trinitarian's Faith?

The court—(Nodding his hand) Sit down.

M.M. Ali—I cannot sit unless you admit that my statement is true. I should like to say one thing. I really do not want to be obstinate. I do not want to be be needlessly importunate out of sheer cursedness and ill-will against the court, I do not want to show any disrespect to you. This does not tally with any part of my character as an accused person or as a non-co-operator. But at the same time I want to stand on my right.

The court—You are wasting the court's time.

M. M. Ali—I am not wasting anybody's time. I just want to convince the Jury that the statement is a true statement.

The court—It matters not.

M. M. Ali—It matters a great deal to me. It matters much so far as I am concerned. It matters a great deal to prove to the Gentlemen

of the Jury that this is in accordance with the Quoran and the Hadis and that I did not fabricate it. I may have made a false statement. Supposing I commit a rape and I come in before the Court and I say that my religion allows it. You can say—" Show it to me from your religious law" You will not take my word for it and you will have to allow me to prove it. What is it, after all? Iam not asking for protection for a murder that I have committed—I am not asking for protection for arson that I have committed—nor I am seeking protection for loot. Loot becomes sacred when the Army Commander orders it. Murder is no murder when the Army Commander commands it. In my case, too, when the Quoran commands, murder is no murder. So when I refer to the Quoran you can say—"show to me."

The court—Suppose we admit it for argument's sake,

M. M. Ali—I want it to be admitted for all purposes. I may not argue one word about the intention. Gentlemen, I am not speaking in my defence. But I must prove that this was a correct statement. I had the same difficulty with my friend Mr. Montagu. He said ' far be it from me, Mr. Mahomed Ali, to

intervene in a discussion about your religion' I said to him—"Please do. Let us discuss it and let me prove to you what my religion is." I was actullay in tears before him when I told him it is no pleasure to me to be against his government. He respected those tears. I explained the religious law about the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab and he had to listen. I had to explain my religion to Mr. Lloyd George also and to some other members of the Cabinet and they had not said that they had nothing to do with the Quoran. I want to prove that this is a correct statement and you must not take away my right to prove it. Will you allow it?

The court—If you will only do it in a very short way. (The whole house burst into peals of laughter at the Judge's relaxing at last.)

M. M. Ali—(To the court) Why did you not say so before? Of course, I will do it in a short way—in fact in a *very* short way.

Quotation from Quoran.

The Maulana then quoted some three or four verses of the Quoran already cited in his statement in the lower court, and added short comments to prove that those made service

in the British Army Haram which was being used to kill Mussalmans without just cause or to destroy the Khilafat and the temporal power of Islam. Thereafter, he cited a few of the Traditions of the Prophet, cited in the lower court statement and explained their bearing on the declaration contained in the Resolution. The verses and the Hadis cited were the following :—

1. "It is not for one of the Faithful to kill another but by mischance"—and thereafter follow the severe penances prescribed even in cases of such mischance. (Sura-i-Nisa, Chapter IV.)

2 "But whoever shall kill one of the Faithful wilfully his recompense shall be Hell; for ever shall he abide therein; God shall be wrath with him, and shall curse him, and had prepared for him a great torment." (Idem).

3 "O ye Faithful: devour not each other's substances falsely except that it be trading among you by your own consent; and kill not your own people. Verily God is unto you merciful. And whoever shall do this of malice and wrongfully, we will soon cast him in fire, for unto God is this easy. If you shun the great things that are forbidden, we will blot

out your faults and we will lead you into Paradise with honourable entry". (Idem.)

4. After recounting the story of the first killing, the murder of a brother by a brother, the crime of Cain in spite of Abel's declaration of his own doctrine of non-violence, the doctrine of every Moslem in like circumstances. Even if thou stretch forth thy hand against me to slay me; verily I fear God, the Lord of the Worlds, the Quoran says: For this have we obtained unto the children Israel that whoever slayeth another soul unless it be for manslaughter or for spreading disorder in land, it is as though he slew all mankind; and whoever saveth a life it is as though he saved all mankind alive. (Sura-i-Matdah, Chapter V).

5. And (the servitors of the Beneficent God are) they who call on no other gods with God, nor slay the soul God hath forbidden to be slain, except for just cause and commit not fornication, for he who doth this shall meet the reward of sin (that part of Hell which is known as Asam). Doubled unto him shall be the torment of the Day of resurrection, and therein shall he remain disgraced for ever (Sura-i-Al-Furpan, Chap. XXV).

1. Shedding a Moslem's blood is not permissible except in three cases, when a life is

taken for a life (*i. e.*, as punishment for a renegade deserting his side). This is to be found in the most authentic collections of Bukhari, Moslem, Tirm'zi, Abu Daud, Nasai and others).

2. A Moslem is he from whose tongue and hand a Moslem remained immune. (Bukhari-B, Moslem-M, Adu-Daud-AD, Tirm'zi-T &c.)

3. To abuse a Moslem is wrong doing and to war against him is infidelity (Kufr') (B. M. T. AD: Nasai-N. Ibr-Majs-IM.)

4. "He who bore arms against us is not from among us, *i. e.*, is not a Moslem any longer." (P.M.T.A.D.)

5. "Even if the inhabitants of all the heavens and all the earths were accessories in the slaying of a single Moslem, God will certainly push them all into fire." (T: Behaq'—BQ—Tibrani—TB.)

6 "Whosoever assisted in the slaying of a Moslem even with a half a word, shall meet God with this written between his eyes: 'Despairer from God's Mercy (*i. e.* he shall receive no portion of God's abounding Mercy).'" (IM: BQ:Aebahani).

7. "God may, it is to be hoped, forgive every sin, but not the man who died while still

an infidel, nor the man who killed a Moslem wilfully." (AD Ibn-i-Nabangug Hakim).

8. "Let him who can see to it that there is not between him and Heaven even a handful of a Moslem's blood, for whosoever such a man will present himself before any of the gates of Paradise, God will interpose Himself between him and Paradise." (TB:BQ).

9. "When two Mussalmans quarrel with each other and use their swords, both the slayer and the slain shall be cast into the Fire." When the people said "O, Prophet of God, the reason for the slayer being cast into the Fire is plain but why the slain as well?" The Prophet replied, "Because he had intended to kill his companion." (B:N:T.&c.)

This statement of mine, Gentlemen, is entirely based on the Quoran and the Hadis as you can now see for yourselves and the Maulana Hussain Ahmad Saheb will after me prove it to you still further. More than this, you have got the correctness of it established in the Fatwa of the Ulema. But that has been turned from proof of our innocence into proof of our guilt.

The Form of Enlistment.

Gentlemen, I do not know whether a man

is exempted or not in the Army from observing his caste usages. This Form includes merely a question about them; and we do not know what happens to the intending recruit, who wishes to observe them. But this is not a caste usage. This is a case of going against religious law and if a man's military duty was to go against the religious law—if the Army Commander thought so, he should have asked this question. Let them ask every Hindu soldier—let them ask every Mahomedan soldier, and note what they say. Dante wrote in his Inferno and Milton quotes it in his Paradise Lost also, that this legend is inscribed over the gates of Hell, 'Whosoever enters here must leave all Hope behind'. So it should be written over the portals of the British Indian Army, 'Whosoever enters this must leave all faith behind'. 'On famous occasion' the German Chancellor had said, 'Necessity knows no religious law, and those who execrate this lawless doctrine are being punished as law-breakers.' What we want is that Government should be straightforward and honest about it. At present, people go to the army apparently with their eyes shut. We ask that they should go with their eyes open. If they join the Army, knowing very well that

their religious law and its obligation on them will not be respected but would be sacrificed to the Moloch of military exigencies, and that, one Queen's proclamation and two King's proclamations will afford them no protection, nobody will then blame the Government. All the sin would be those people's who know all this and yet joined the Army. But what is it after all that Islamic law demands to-day? For what offences does it seek the Secular Law's protection? Not for human sacrifice! I do not say—"Shoot your officers—kill them." No, on the contrary, I demand that they be not guilty of the human sacrifice of their Muslim brothers—of fratricide. When you took them to fight the Germans on the outbreak of the war, I did not say—"Do not fight with them." I do not say if there is disorder in Karachi and the Muslims are rioting, that Muslim soldiers should not go and stop that. "In this Form" (showing the Form of enlistment) all sorts of questions are asked. The Form says—"the following 9 questions: but there are really 14 and not 9 questions in all (reads all the questions)." I do not know what happens if he says he is unwilling to be vaccinated or even to be re-vaccinated—as some Hindus may well do on account of the vaccine or lymph from

the cow. I do not know what happens if he says he is unwilling to cross the black waters or give up a caste usage. The solemn declaration of the intending recruit only says that the answers are true and that he is willing to fulfil the engagements made without explaining what they are. But let us persume that he has expressed his willingness to be vaccinated and re-vaccinated and to go wherever ordered by land or sea and allow no caste usage to interfere with his military duty and that there are the engagements. The 15th question should have been: "Are you willing to do anything you are ordered and allow no religious commandment to interfere with your military duty? Are you willing to forego your religion?" Where is such a question in the Form? If the man says "Yes," then it is alright; and if he refuses, you can chuk him out. But you don't ask him this question, you dare not do that—and yet you take him in and if he refuses to commit the most grievous sin, short of becoming a renegade and an infidel at heart as well as outwardly, you say he has failed in his military duty. But that is according to your own Form of enlistment, no parts of a solidier's duty as such. Therefore, Sir, it is not a ques-

tion of seducing from duty. As I have already said we are teaching him his first duty—that his first duty is to God and the second duty is to his country and his king. Gentlemen of the Jury, the proclamation came as you know after the greased cartridges affairs and the Mutiny, and it was to repudiate precisely this unlimited connotation of Military duty that it was issued in 1858. But what is tearing with one's teeth of greased cartridges or eating a whole pig compared to the sin of kiling a Muslim? I have already in my statement in the lower court and I repeat it here that if a man is threatened with death unless he consents to take a pork he may not only take it but *must* and if he is killed on account of refusal to do so he dies a sinner. In like circumstances he may even declare that he is a *Kafer* if he continues to be a believer at heart though it is preferable not to do so and if he is killed on account of refusal he dies a martyr. But in like circumstances he must not kill or dismember another Muslim but patiently submit to be killed instead. And you dare not ask a Mussalman to touch cartridges with pig's grease as part of military duty since your experience of 1857 and the Proclamation of 1858 and yet you call it part of military duty

to kill Mussalmans which is far worse than eating pork and worse even than outward apostacy. The absence of such a question as I have suggested means that the Government understood what it would lead to. We consider it a part of our duty therefore to remind the Muslim soldier of his duty to God, to demand from a Mussalman that he must carry out his God's law. This is not seducing him from doing his duty in the army and in any case he need not desert or fail in his duty, but appeal to Government through his superior officers that such duty as is against his religion, may not be required of him. There is, therefore, neither a likelihood nor intention of seducing a soldier from his duty as such.

Section 117.

Now comes section 117. Against me this is the only other section. (Reads). "Whoever abets the commission of offence, by the public generally or by any number or class of persons exceeding ten, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both."

But where is the *offence*? There was no criminal conspiracy, as I have explained, under section 120-B. There was no attempt made by us or by a fellow-conspirator under that section and section 131 as I have also explained.

The court—Mr. Mohamed Ali, you are charged that you at this meeting and other places abetted ten or more persons to commit.

M. M. Ali—It says: "Whoever abets the commission of an offence by the public generally or ten or more persons etc." But what is the offence? The offence is to ask the Muslim soldier to do his duty to God, to bring the law of Islam home to him. But that is no offence. Therefore, I have committed no offence. And there is no offence that I abet, the entire ground is taken away from under the feet of the prosecution.

In the evidence you have it that there were two or three thousand people and two or three gentlemen on oath declared that there were only two thousand people and that they were mostly Mussalmans. I was the President there—at that meeting—and am in a better position to tell you how many people were there. When I returned to Bombay from

Karachi, I said to Mahatma Gandhi, I was astonished to see that at least half of that big audience was composed of Hindus. But that shows that the Khilafat is a national question and not as exclusively Muslim question. The Mahratta gentleman who told you about the Gohok Resolution said that there were fifteen hundred people and the whole area of that Conference pandal was not more than that of this hall and its verandah The pandal where the Karachi All-India Khilafat Conference was held, it was not far from this place—that pandal was ten or fifteen times as longer as the hall and was absolutely packed, not less than ten thousand people were there. Therefore, it is not a question of instigating ten people but ten thousand people to do what we asked them to do in that Resolution. But we did not instigate them to commit any offence. Cook your hare by all means, but cut it, digest it. But you must catch your hare first. But my friends, (pointing to the Public Prosecutor and Mr. Ross Alston) they have not yet even scented their hare much less caught it. They have not proved that there was really any offence at all that we abetted. What was it that I told the people? To bring it home to them that they must do their duty

to God. (Reads from his copy of the Resolution) but the Judge interrupted. (To court) I must read my copy because I must give you the exact words of the Resolution as it was read out, moved, seconded, supported and passed the *ipsissima verba*. (Reads in the original Urdu).

Not my opinions or statements nor even the Karachi Conference's declarations, but the commandments of Islam in this behalf were to be brought home to the Muslim soldiers Has it now become an offence even to declare that it is the duty of the Mussalmans to communicate the law of Islam itself to the Muslim soldiers? I said yesterday that the Government would not be able to find a single Mussalman who says that this is not the law of Islam. But suppose that they find such a man—suppose they create such a man, for we may even credit them with the function of the Creator when they demand obedience to their behests as against the Creator's commandments—they create such a man and make him a Moslem also, and he says that the law of Islam says that every word of command in the Army is God's own commandments, when the Commander says shoot a Muslim he should be instantly obeyed. What do we ask? We say,

carry the religious law of Islam to the soldier, the Muslim soldier. I don't say, carry my interpretation of it. I say—carry the law of Islam on the subject to the Mussalmans in the army, is it an offence even to propagate law of Islam? Supposing the man is entirely against me. He says, No, it is not a sin to kill a Mussalman; it is the bounden duty of a religious Muslim to kill a Muslim when the Commanding Officer orders it. I don't say to him, don't carry this to the soldiers but take the law that I lay down. I simply asked him even what the Islamic law says that he has got to carry to the Muslim soldiers. I know a gentleman who got a title and whose sons got several posts because he happened to hold certain very peculiar doctrines about the Muslims and particularly the Muslim soldier's duty to the temporal ruler for the time being. He used to engage Maulvis to go into the requirements and preach his doctrines of loyalty at all times and at any price. But it seems even that would be an offence, for the Public Prosecutor, it is an offence under section 117, I.P.C., to declare that it is the duty of Mussalmans in general and the Ulema of Islam in particular to bring the law of Islam home to Muslim soldiers. Or, is it an offence

only if I ask ten persons or more? If you ask two or three men, it does not matter if you ask that ten, the moment you come to ten—that is ten complete, or you ask public generally, you will be hanged. At any rate, Gentlemen, you must go by what I have said and what the shorthand C.I.D. man has taken down and what some pitiful Police liar has sought to put into my mouth.

(Moulana Mahomed Ali sent for Inspector Lakhti Hasanan's transcript of the Urdu Resolutions as read out by him at the Conference and found it tallied exactly with the copy he had from the Bombay Central Khilafat office on the letter paper of the Reception Committee of the Karachi Conference, showing that it was made at the time of the Conference itself. But the translator of the Government had mistranslated into 'these commandments' which would make section 117, I.P.C., applicable if section 505 was found to be applicable, whereas the actual words of this part of the Resolution did not refer to the declaration of Islamic law that military service was *haram* contained in the earlier part of the Resolution but to Islamic law generally).

Gentlemen of the Jury, I am not anxious to get off. I am not anxious for my defence.

I make no defence whatsoever, though I had to explain the Law of Islam to you and explain the bearing of that on the position we have taken up. I have not cross-examined witnesses nor produced evidence on my own side. But I want you, who are mostly my countrymen, though co-operating with this Government, to consider this. You will find that in the history of the world many celebrated trials have taken place and many great people have been declared guilty of many offences. In English History itself even poor Joan of Arc was killed for a witch. But with what result? Her golden Statute stood before my hotel in France, and while I was there the Catholic Church, led by the Pope and the College of Cardinals, canonised her, and what did the successors of those who burnt her so? Why the British Army joined the French in honouring her memory and in placing wreaths on her statue. I was present at such a scene. George Washington was a wicked rebel in the time of George III. What is the verdict of the British Government to-day? He is the greatest patriot.

I should like to address a remark or two, particularly to the solitary Englishman on the Jury. Englismen are not bound to follow the

majority of their countrymen, particularly in unrighteousness and injustice. Believe me, throughout English History it has been the minority that was mostly in the right and at any rate it was the minority that began great and good movements. A great cause had never been started in the world's history by the majority. It was not Pilate that was cruci-fied. It was Christ—God's peace and bless-ings be on him! Pilate was the Judge who pronounced the verdict against Christ! But who pronounces the verdict now and who will pronounce it hereafter? On the Last Day of the Day of Judgment, it is God that will pronounce the sentence on Pilate who did not know what was Truth and ask that famous or infamous question so cynically. But where is Pilate now? Whoever remembers him—this great crucifying Judge expect for Christ's crucifixion? Now to millions of human being Christ is the Saviour. But who am I, a hum-ble individual, to compare myself with Christ, who am not worthy even to take the dust of the feet of Christ? But as the Poet has said, "Weakness never need be falseness. Truth is Truth in each degree. Thunder pealed by God to Nature whispered by my soul to me."

And in the thunder peals of British howit-

zers the still small voice of the humble man's soul has whispered into his ear this little bit of truth—God's eternal everlasting soul sustaining Truth—that he must not stand by and see Muslims being slaughtered by Muslims in spite of God's clear law but must preach against it and propagate God's Truth, unshaken by fear of man and untroubled by mundane consequences.

Gentlemen, take another case—the case of the martyrs of Karbala. The Prophet's grandson had only 72 men and Yazid's army had thousands and they killed him. He was then in a small minority. But for thirteen hundred years the mourning for that vile deed—the deed of the Government in power—has bnee going on. Every Muslim mourns for Hussain, Hussain the victim, and not for Yazid, the proud victor; and many Muslim cities have a quarter just outside known as Karbala, while no trace of Yazid's grave can be found anywhere. So, Gentlemen, do not think of the consequence of your verdict to-day or to-morrow, but of its ultimate consequences here to human freedom and hereafter in another world. And you have got to judge for yourself. Ralli Brothers cannot judge for you, Forbes, Forbes and Campbell, who objected to

a small white Gandhi cap, cannot judge for you, Mr. Lloyd George cannot judge for you. God on his Judgment Day will ask Lloyd George about his soul, not about yours, and he may have much to answer for. God will ask you about your individual soul and none others. He won't ask Ralli Brothers or Forbes, Forbes and Campbell about it. And if, as a Hindu, you believe only in punishment in this very world through the cycle of transmigration of souls, you must remember that, according to your belief, God's Judgment will be visited here and not hereafter and you be judged the moment your soul quits its abode in your body and seeks another. Whatever your creed, your *Karma* is your own and the final judgment does not rest with you any more than with the Judge there but with God, the Lord of all the worlds. Gentlemen, I have taken much of your time, far more than I had intended to take or would have taken were it not for being constantly interrupted and stopped. But as I said at the very outset, had it been a case of my individual defence or of all of us accused together only, I would not have argued at such length and with such persistence. I do not seek to avoid punishment; for, the jail is the gateway

to India's freedom. Had I sought to avoid punishment, I think I could have smashed the entire prosecution and proved my case according to the canons of this very law, the so-called law of the land. I could have cross-examined the witnesses and their evidence to shreds—I was really tempted to do hat in the case of Colonel Gwyer with his enlistment forms and his "soldier's duty as such." I think I may say this though I do not pretend to be a big lawyer like my friend the Pub ic Prosecutor or his little assistant. Nevertheless, the case is so hopelessly weak that

in the jail for a day even if the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England himself, better known as Rufus Issacs, K.C., had his Government's brief. But although a non-co-operator and therefore, debarred by my duty, as such, to defend myself, I had to speak up when the Viceroy indulged in his hill top "*obiter dicta*" on a matter which he knew and admitted was *sub-judice.* He said that this was no case of an attack on Islam or religious interference. What could be a more flagrant case of both? If tallest poppies are to be cut off for upholding Islam and its laws and you ask those who remain what is your opinion about the laws of

Islam which only means your turn next if you dare to tell the truth and you cut off their heads too if they still dare. The result may well be that there will be none to stand up and oppose your will. And then you will say "we interfere not with your faith." If this is non-interference, you can enjoy the self-complacence induced by such boasts of toleration. But that is not all. We are asked to look at him—the tallest poppy of the Israelite garden in England—as upon a certificate of British toleration. But, Gentlemen, I cannot imitate the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England and Viceroy of India. His law is a law unto him and my law is a law unto me. The example of his people, if I may say so without offence, is constantly mentioned in the Quoran for the Muslim to avoid and take heed from. According to the Quoran, after Moses (on whom be God's peace and blessing) had brought the Israelites safely out of Egypt and they had been delivered from the tyranny of Pharoah, they were asked to march on to the Promised Land. But they said, it is ruled by giants 'we shall never be able to enter it so long as they are there' and they said to Moses, 'Go thy and thy God and fight them we are the while sitting here.'

Well, Gentlemen, that is not an example that I am asked to follow in the case of my Holy Land but to avoid. I cannot take that law. It is ruled by powerful people. They are giants 'go thou and thy God and fight.' We rest here. But I am not there to question the propriety of that example or that law. So far as I am concerned, the Quoran is my law. Giants are not giants. I shall fight when my God demands it of me and shall not rest, nor ask Him to fight the giants himself. And if I am to be hanged for it—for waging war against the King, Gentlemen, I will still say that this is my law and that it is right and even my carcass hanging from the gibbet will, I trust, say the same. Do not therefore think of saving me, Gentlemen, from transportation for life. But if you have God and if you have a soul to save and if you have Faith you will decide according to your conscience. You are not to consider whether you are servants of a particular Company of the Greek firm of Ralli Brothers —of Forbes, Forbes and Campbell—of the Customs office—you are to think nothing of that but only of this, that you are slaves and servitors of God. Gentlemen, this is the one important matter. So judge according to your conscience—it is not to save me but to save

yourself. When the Judge had said "I cannot allow this" and wanted to stop me, I said to him, "then why not stop this farce and hang me outright?" Well, he smiled and replied that it was not only a matter between him and me but also between him and the public and I had replied that the public had already given their verdict both in this Hall and also in the streets where they crowd in their thousands and cheer us going and coming and the old women in spite of their Purdah come out—as my old mother has done since this trial and make signs to us indicating that they want to take off our troubles.

Well, Gentlemen, my defence is before my God and my fellow-countrymen. Here we are now at the bar of this Court as prisoners and accused persons. But when, before the Judgment Seat of God, the Judge, the Jury, the accused, all the co-accused, the Public Prosecutor and his assistant, the King himself—everybody is assembled and God asks, "whose is dominion to-day?" What will be your answer? You will say: "Thine is the Power, the Glory, Thine the Kingdom, Thine the Dominion." You say now "Thy Kingdom come." But, Gentlemen, His Kingdom *has* come. God's Kingdom has come. God's

Kingdom is here even to-day. It is not the Kingdom of King George but God's and you must decide on that basis and I must act on that assumption. That is why I say I will follow the law of King George so long as he does not force me to go against the law of my God. I have no personal malices against him. I have none even against the Judge here, none against the Government. Not a single instance of that can be quoted from my public speeches. No, Gentlemen, we must act from motives of public good, not of private malice. Once the Prophet's son-in-law, cousin and successor Hazrat Ali, was enraged against a Jew who had insulted Islam, and the God of Islam and the Faith of Islam and Ali had that very instant brought him down to the ground and had jumped on top of him. The Jew thought that he was going to be killed and in sheer desperation spat on Ali's face. You have seen, have you not a vessel full of milk on the fire and about to boil over and you have seen how it subsides the moment a little cold water is poured in. The Jews spitting acted just in that manner and strangely enough the wrath of Ali subsided at once and he left the Jew and walked away. But the Jew was so astonished at this unexpected turn of events that he ran after

Ali and caught hold of him and said "This is very strange". When I said word you forced me down and would have killed me, and when I spat on your face in desperation you leave me. And Ali answered. "You insulted God and I could have killed you, but when you spat on me I got enraged on my own account and personal ill-will could not go well with public duty. I could be an executioner for the sake of God but not a murderer for Ali" Gentlemen, wc too bear the revered name of Ali and I bear also the name of another even greater than Ali. I will not be a party to that killing of even of a giant for personal malice, but for the sake of my God I will kill all. I will not spare any one, I will slaughter my own brothers, my dear aged mother, wife, children and all for the sake of God—so help me God! (And as he said this his voice failed him, drops of tears rolled down his cheeks and he sat down completely overcome.)

THE 'SERVANT.

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